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HISTORICAL
MEMOIRS
OF THE
FIRST RACE OF ANCESTRY,
WHENCE THE
HOUSE OF RUSSELL

Had its Origin:

FROM
THE SUBJUGATION OF NORWAY TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

By J. H. WIFFEN, M.R.S.L.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NORMANDY,

&c. &c. &c.

“It is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or to see a fair timber-tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time!”—*Bacon*.



LONDON:

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMAN,

PATERNOSTER ROW; AND

CARPENTER AND SON, OLD BOND STREET.

1833.

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MEMOIRS
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HOUSE OF RUSSELL



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PREFACE.

THE motive for my undertaking this history of the early Lineage of the House of Russell is explained in the Preface to the "HISTORICAL MEMOIRS" of that family, to which it properly forms an Introduction. The incidents recorded will, it is presumed, be found of interest, not only from their novelty, and as indicating the common source whence the Dukes of Normandy arose, but as conveying a sketch of the wild and predatory habits which distinguished the northern nations during the dark ages. They are the result of research amongst the Icelandic writers, particularly Snorro, whose annals of the achievements of the Scandinavian heroes are frequently illustrated by curious extracts from the *runes* of the Scalds, by whom they were at first commemorated.

A genealogical table is prefixed, in order to elucidate the narrative, which acquires a more *familiar* air of authenticity when it enters the Norman branch of the Turstains and the Bertrands, barons of Briquebec in Lower Normandy.

Froxfield, 5th Month 1st, 1833.



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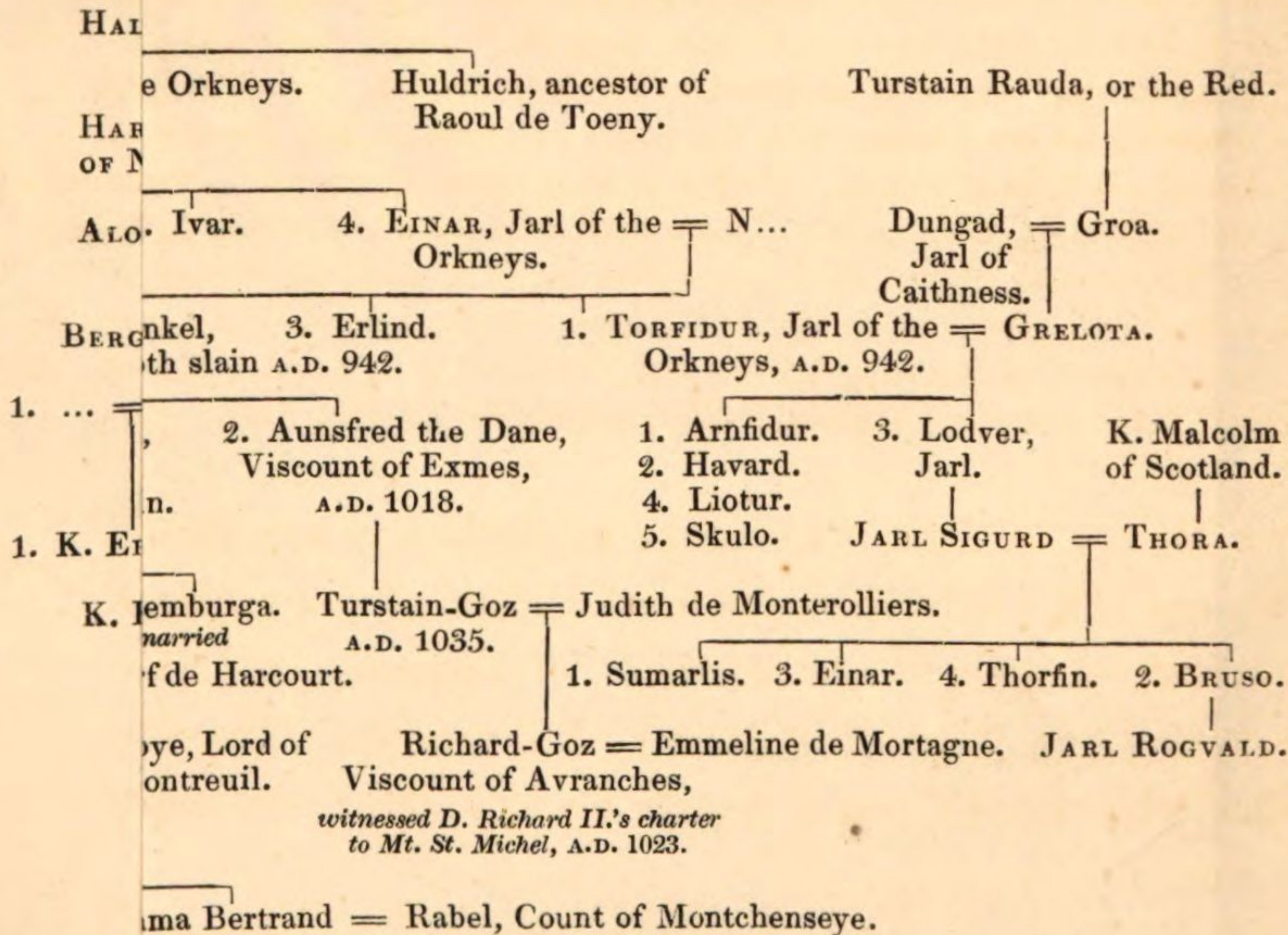
Comte de Toustain-Richebourg, *Hist. Généal. de la Maison de Seguin, Histoire Militaire des Bocains.*

a bend *argent*, coticed potencé contre-potencé, *or*. HARCOURT, and *azure*. MONTCHENSEYE, *or*, 3 escutcheons, 2 and 1, barry of *Tous teincts de sang !*" Of MONTCHENSEYE, "*Montchenseye !*"

f Sigurd and Brynhilda.

i-king A.D. 760-80.

D. 800.





HISTORICAL MEMOIRS, &c.

LINEAGE OF THE FIRST RACE.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE CONQUEST OF NORWAY TO THE REIGN OF HARALD THE HARDY.

A.D. 845—1050.

Site of Le Rozel... Origin of the Family of Russell... Barneville... Irruption of Biern from Norway, A.D. 845... First Race... Rogvald, Jarl of Møre, 865; his descent and offspring... Einar, Jarl of the Orkneys, 875; his revenge; the fall of his own sons; the banishment of Rollo, 876... Thorer, Jarl of Møre... Sigurd, Jarl of Hlatha, 921... First dawn of Christianity in Norway... Death of Sigurd, 963... Jarl Haquin... Sea-fight of Hiorungur-Vagur... Haquin, King of Norway; his flight; singular accomplishment of the dream of his domestic, 996... Jarl Eric in Sweden; his confederacy with the Kings of Denmark and Sweden... Grand sea-fight of Svolda... Defeat of King Olaus Trygvoson... Partition of Norway, 1002... Fall of King Eric at the siege of London, 1016... The capture of Jarl Haquin... Wars of Einar and Jarl Sweno... Expedition of King Canute against St. Olave... Restoration of Jarl Haquin to the throne of Norway; his ill-timed death, 1029... Tragical fate of Jarl Einar, surnamed Thamba-Skelfur, and his son Eindred, 1050.

THE HOUSE OF RUSSELL derives its distinctive appellation from one of the fiefs which the first Chieftain of that surname possessed, anterior to the conquest of England, in Lower Normandy, in the ancient barony of Briquebec. The traveller who, in our times, directs his steps from the bourg

of Briquebec towards the western coast of the department of La Manche, after reaching, through scenes of quiet and secluded beauty, the heathy heights of Les Pieux,¹ looks down upon a valley in the face of the Atlantic, terminated at one extremity of the shore by the Pou, or Cape of Le

¹ "Les Pieux is a wide and straggling village, or rather town; the Cartulary of St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte specifying that a market was granted to it by King Henry II. The church is dedicated to St. Mary—*de Podiis*, as the charters term it, *Pieux* being simply the plural of *Pou*, a lofty headland; for the land around it lies extremely high, commanding a wide and glorious view of the vast blue ocean around Alderney and Jersey. The day on which we reached this interesting spot was clear and cloudless, and at noon we sat down upon the heathy bosom of the mountain that, at the height of probably five hundred feet, overlooks the vast Atlantic, the waves of which swept slowly in before the wind, curling with white foam, that well contrasted with the sapphire hemisphere of waters expanding before us. Whilst our eye was gratified with this, and with the distant view, to our left, of the hamlet of Le Rozel, half secreted amidst trees, the ear was no less solaced with the ceaseless roar of the billows, all distant and diminished as they were. With a caprice not uncommon when we have in our power some long-expected enjoyment, we held Le Rozel in reserve, until we should have explored a portion of the coast which M. de Gerville had recommended to our notice from its striking wildness, and directed our course northward towards Flamanville. The village is but poor and small: it contains, however, about 1200 inhabitants, as the villagers declared; and a handsome château rises near it, belonging to the Count de Sesmaisons. A half-hour's walk by the château brings us to the lofty and steep summit of the neighbouring cape, termed *Le Gros Nez*, whence a beautiful prospect is commanded of the bay and promontory of Jobourg to the north. The crags rise roughly and in huge disorder from the sea, that foams six hundred feet below, starting up, like the Druidic logan-stones of Cornwall, in the most fantastic forms, bare and naked of vegetation; and yet, as no steep is impervious to Norman industry, wherever a grassy slope presents itself, the rills, dripping from the rocks, are collected in a basin, around which either geese or sheep are seen to feed. At the top of the Gros Nez is a rude guard-house, where one lonely sentinel keeps perpetual watch against the smuggling vessels that might push into the creeks. Savage, and steep, and tremendous, however, as are the rocks, a winding path along their verge conducts the traveller to Le Rozel through scenes full of sublimity; the sea, as the tide sweeps in, beating the dark breakers at your feet, in a picturesque hurricane of foam. From their height and exposure to so vast a wilderness of waters, the coast here must be tremendous when the wind and sea mount high; and I can conceive nothing more magnificent

Rozel; and on the other, above the little fort of Siotôt, by the imminent and lofty cliffs extending northwards towards Flamanville. In the centre of this valley, a mile's distance from the strand, is seen the little hamlet of Le Rozel, pleasantly embosomed in wood. The Bus, a rivulet not destitute

than an autumnal night, during the equinox, spent there in a cavern which we found overhanging the loud ocean. Fast as we turned one huge cape, another opened on the view, leading frequently to the extreme brink of deep chasms, down which slipped silently the mountain springs, which the burning heat of the summer had left unconquered. The heat reflected from the granite was overpowering as an oven; and it would, therefore, be an act of ingratitude not to record my thanks to the Naiad of one of these bubbling little fountains, which fell into a small stone basin, paved with moss and water-herbs, clear as crystal, and sweet to the parched taste as nectar. After an hour's walk, the circling bay and Pou of Le Rozel came into the prospect. The latter rushes into the sea less roughly than the crags we left behind us; but its base is heaped with as picturesque a ledge of rocks. Nothing can be smoother or more level than the strand along the bay; and, on this account, Le Rozel might easily become the finest bathing place upon the coast. We approach the manor-house by a causeway on the side of the Bus. The streamlet, although narrow, flows along as pure as light, and is bordered with alders and luxuriant flags (*des roseaux*); which circumstance, in connexion with their surname, doubtless suggested to that branch of the family which, in 1204, did homage for the fief to Philip Augustus, the arms which they assumed: viz. *arg.* 3 green rushes, flowered *sable*, 2 and 1; as the descendants of the branch inheriting Rosel near Caen, who continued in Normandy, by a similar play upon the name, took *gules*, 3 roses *argent* 2 and 1.¹ Ascending the stream a little way towards Les Pieux, it is seen to flow from between gentle hills, alternately russet with heath, and clothed with trees of the most florid verdure, from which we hear the clacking of a distant mill, the same, probably, as that which Jordain Russell, Lord of Barneville, in his charter conferring the church of St. Peter du Rozel upon the priory of La Taille, in the twelfth century, describes as 'molendinum Buys' (*sur le Bus*), and upon which, in 1222, Lucia du Rozel, for the prayers of the church of Coutances, granted six quarters of flour annually to the canons there. The manor-house and farm have been occupied, for the last fifty years, by M. Villot, the mayor of the place, as steward to its possessor, Madame de Hannôt, who resides in Picardy. The estate produces to her 10,000 francs a-year."—*MS. Journal*.

¹ Chamillard, Nobilier de la Basse Normandie.

of fame in the early charters of neighbouring monasteries, leads on, with a shallow murmur, amidst wooded hills, to this sequestered spot, and there passes to the sea, at the base of a slightly castellated mansion, which the antiquary is at once disposed to recognise as raised upon the site, where the first peculiar seigneurs of the territory had either their fixed or occasional residence. Standing on a small eminence, overhung with an old grove of oak and chestnut, with a small tower at the western angle, and surrounded by a wall, creneilled, and flanked with ivied buttresses, which, on the side fronting the sea, opens into an inner court, betwixt two round and half-dismantled towers,¹ the present building, though now used only as a rural grange, has still somewhat picturesque and knightly in its aspect. The name given, first to the cape, and afterwards to the castle and the family inhabiting it, appears to have been imposed by some of the early settlers in Neustria; Le Rozel implying, according to Roquefort,² a tower, or bold headland, by the water; from *Roz*, the rook or castle of the chessboard, and *el*, the synonyme for *eau*.

The family of the Du Rozels is said by some authorities to have been known under that surname so early as the year 1012;³ but as no charter has been discovered of any of its members earlier than 1066, there is some reason to doubt the accuracy of this statement. The castle and territory of Le Rozel, according to the author of the "Military History of the Bocains,"⁴ was a portion of their appanage, as a younger branch of the Bertrands, Barons of Briquebec; a house the head of which took the title of Sire, and first Banneret

¹ Vide Vignette at end of chap.

² Roquefort, Gloss. de la Lang. Rom.

³ Dubois, Dict. Univ. de la Nobl. de France.

⁴ M. Seguin, p. 121.

of the Bocage, being accounted second only in rank to the Barons of St. Sauveur, who successively enjoyed the style of Vicomtes of La Manche. M. Seguin has omitted to adduce, in his work, the exact source whence he derived a knowledge of the fact; but he has personally stated that this was a point clearly ascertained from uncontested charters, a vast number of which fell into his hands,¹ with the papers of M. le Franc, a Norman antiquary of the last century, who had been indulged with frequent access to the very ancient cartulary, or fief-book, of the barony,² before it was missing

¹ “ J’ai vu M. Seguin, et je lui ai demandé d’où provenaient les renseignemens dont il s’était servi, pour dire dans son ouvrage, que les Du Rozel descendaient des Bertrands de Briquebec. Il m’a répondu, qu’il l’ignorait; qu’il avait eu en sa possession une grande quantité de copies de chartres et d’anciens titres, qui lui avaient fourni les matériaux de son histoire; qu’il était bien certain de l’exactitude des faits qui y étaient rapportés; mais qu’il ne se souvenait nullement d’où elles provenaient. Il pense que l’on pourrait trouver des renseignemens, à cet égard, auprès d’une dame de Montmorency, qui existe encore, et qui descend de la famille Matignon, dont les propriétés étaient immenses dans notre pays.” — *Lettre du M. le Normand, de Vire, Nov. 1, 1826.* My application to this lady for permission to make researches amidst her *ancient* title-deeds was fruitless: yet her steward at Briquebec permitted me to examine such papers as were remaining in the armory; apprising me, however, that the principal part of the records had been borne away by the Duchesse, his mistress, who was at that time engaged in a process with the inhabitants of several communes in the neighbourhood of St. Loo, relative to her right over some extensive marshes—that of Gorges amongst the rest. The terrier books, &c. that remained were altogether of a modern date; but I noticed an entry in one of them, that the ancient fief-book of which I was in quest, and which was there entitled “*COPIA CHARTARUM*,” had been missing for the last fifty years. On returning to M. de Gerville, at Valognes, I submitted to him the passage of Seguin, which is as follows:—“ Cette famille illustre et puissante (des Bertrand de Briquebec) posséda un vaste territoire, où elle se divisa en plusieurs branches qui prirent le nom de leurs châteaux; entre lesquelles on distinguait celles Du Rozel, des Perques, de St. Pierre d’Allone, de Beaubigny, de Breuville, de Hardinvast, du Mesnil-Auvair, de Sottevast, de St. Paul-des-Sablons, de Sénonville, de St. Germain-des-Vaux, de Vauville, de Quetôt, de Surtainville, du Vretot, de Pierreville, de St. Germain-le-Gaillard, de Nègreville, de

² Ex relat. M. de Gerville.

from the armory of the castle of Briquebec, where it used to be deposited, with the other title-deeds of the Bertrand family. His account derives every confirmation from the extent as well as nature of the grants which various members of the family of Du Rozel made, from the commencement to the close of the twelfth century—a power of alienation which, exercised as it often was over lands, vills, and advowsons in the compass of the barony, can be explained upon no other ground than transmission by immediate descent: nor can the simple lion rampant, first borne by the Du Rozels on their shields, be regarded in any other light than as the heraldic coat of the Bertrands, varied, for distinction, by

Brucheville, de Vasteville, de Magneville, et de Bloville.” Inquiring then of this eminent antiquary the authority upon which he himself has so far corroborated this statement, as to represent the Les Perques as a younger branch of the Bertrands (*Anciens Châteaux de Valognes*, p. 258), he apprised me that he had learnt the fact from his own personal examination of the baronial archives. In reply to my inquiry what arms they bore, he stated that all the younger branches which shot off from the Bertrand stock bore upon their banners, seals, and shields, the same arms as the parent House, which were *or*, a lion rampant *vert*, langued and unguled, and crowned *arg*. He instanced the Magnevilles, before they became earls of Essex. Subsequent research has enabled me to indicate the period when several of these younger branches diverged from the main stem. The seigneurs of Le Rozel, (as will soon appear), Magneville, and Vauville, existed under those surnames before the conquest of England. Geoffrey de Magneville accompanied the Conqueror on his expedition to England; William de Vauville the same, after witnessing, with William and Eudo, his sons, and Robert Bertrand, the Duke’s first charter to St. Mary de Vœu, at Cherburg, about the year 1050. The Seigneur of Les Perques originated in the early part of the twelfth century, together with that of Sottevast; those of Nègreville, St. Pierre d’Allone, Surtainville, Pierreville, and Martinvast, in the middle of the same; and Baubigny towards the latter end. The abbey charters of Blanchland and St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte, preserved in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, (*MSS. de Boze*, No. 1028), illustrate the family union and common interests that then subsisted amongst them all. Sottevast sprang from Magneville. Roger de Sottevast, before 1147, under Humphrey the Abbot, gave to the abbey of St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte the church of St. Broelarius, in Jersey, with its tithe, for the soul of Ralph, his father, who lay buried in the abbey.

the omission of its argent crown, and by the change to *gules* from the *vert* of its old hereditary tincture, when the first peculiar chieftain of Le Rozel aspired to become the independent founder of a new House, that should transmit to other times its own illustrious surname. The rise of the Russell surname synchronises also with the first usage of heraldic arms; as the metrical chronicle of Wace, a most interesting relic of the feudal age, declares, that at the great battle of Val des Dunes, which occurred in 1047, there was not a baron or rich man amongst the combatants but had his banner or other ensign, to which his vassals might be rallied, and that there were amongst them both watch-words

Afterwards, William de Magneville, "his brother," confirmed the grant, on the death of Symon de Marei, placing his charter on the altar.¹ Eudo de Sottevast, the supposed brother of Roger, lost ten acres at Tourville by wager of battle with William de Bricqueville.² Robert de Negreville was a witness the same year, in conjunction with Richard de Vauville, Leo his brother, and Jordan Rozel, Lord of Barneville, to an agreement between the abbots of St. Sauveur and Montbourg.³ St. Pierre d'Allone was then the appanage of Roger, surnamed also Des Moutiers, *De Monasteriis* (now Musters), who gave a moiety of its church to Blanchland Abbey.⁴ Robert de Surtainville gave the other moiety, and his grant was confirmed by William, Bishop of Coutances, in 1189;⁴ but Geoffrey de Surtainville witnessed, so early as 1156, a charter to St. Sauveur, of Richard, Bishop of Coutances, in conjunction with Robert Rozel, de Barneville, upon the day that the church of St. Peter, at Pierreville, was dedicated.⁵ Richard de Martinvast, another hamlet in the barony, about the same period, performed with the commonalty of Cherbourg the military service due from him to King Henry II., Duke of Normandy;⁶ and Robert de Baubigny, somewhat later in the century, gave the tithe of his land at Le Rozel to Blanchland Abbey.⁷ These are all so many proofs of the correctness of M. Seguin's position; and additional evidences might, if necessary, be furnished from other copies of charters in the author's possession.

¹ The original charter, penès me.

³ Titres de Blanchland, p. 36.

⁶ Lib. Rub. Scacc. t. i. p. 123.

² Charta penès M. Francis Moore.

⁴ Id. p. 5.

⁵ Id. p. 66.

⁷ Titres de Blanchland, p. 41.

and war-cries, and shields for cognisance painted with various devices.¹

The early Du Rozels did not, however, use that surname exclusively. In various donations, throughout the whole of the twelfth century, we find a succession of the members signing charters under the surname of De Barneville, which was probably the chief castle of their fief. In this they followed a frequent practice of those early feudal times, when the donor possessed various lordships, and was at unbiassed liberty to choose his own appellation, either from the particular castle where the charter happened to be executed, or from the superior fee of which the grant had formed a portion; or, finally, from the name of that which was most flattering to his fancy or ambition.² In the wars and troubles that distracted Normandy during the minority of Duke William, as well as under the reign of his successor William Rufus, the whole duchy, we are told by contemporary annalists, was filled with fortalices and castles — a circumstance that sufficiently accounts for the existence of fortified defences upon both the estates of the Du Rozels. That of Barneville is yet to be traced upon a mound to the east of the church where the calvaire, or crucifix, is placed. The mound, called formerly *Butte à Mallet*, was obviously once

¹ N'i a riche home ne baron,
Ki n'ait lez li son gonfanon,
U gonfanon u altre enseigne

U sa mesnie se restreigne,
Congnoissances u entre-sainz,
De plusors guises escuz painz.

Roman de Rou, ii. p. 33.

² Thus, Baldwin, the first Earl of Devon, son of Gilbert Crespin, Earl of Brionne, used in his charters no fewer than six surnames. Sometimes he signed himself Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert, sometimes Baldwin Vicecomes, and Baldwin de Devoniâ, as sheriff of that county; Baldwin de Excestre, from his chief castle at Exeter; and, more rarely, Baldwin de Brioniis and Baldwin de Mœlis. His eldest son Baldwin took again the surname of De Riveriis, and his second son that of De Vernon. — DUG. *Bar.* i. 254.

encircled by a fosse; but as the spot is little capable of a defence by water, it is probable that the original castle could not have long stood out against a hostile inroad. Barneville is stated to have derived its origin and name from Bicern, the celebrated Norse pirate, son of the younger Regner Lodbrog, and surnamed Côte-de-Fer, from a magic plate of metal which he was accustomed to wear at his right side, the only part of his body which, according to the popular belief, his mother, a Scandinavian enchantress, had not been able to render invulnerable.¹ It is certain that that warrior, scouring the coasts of La Manche in 845,² in his way to Bretagne, visited and laid waste Valognes, Bruchamp, Port-Paillart, and various other places in the environs of Barneville and Briquebec.³ He is thought to have afterwards fortified himself along the whole line of the Hague-Dyke, extending from Osmonville to Port-Paillart, situated over against Portbail and Carteret, which borders immediately upon Barneville;⁴ and the traces of this fortified encampment yet remain.

The Bertrand family were indisputably of the lineage of Rollo. Ordericus Vitalis traces their ancestry up to the year 943, when Anslech of Briquebec, on the assassination of William Longsword, Duke of Normandy, was appointed by the nobility of Normandy and Bretagne one of the four guardians of his son, during the long and troublous time of his minority. The exact relationship in which this baron

¹ Depping, Exp. Mar. des Norm. i. p. 125. ² Daru, Hist. de Bret. i. p. 204.

³ Normendie ont avironée,	Valuignes pristrent è wasterent,
E Brétaigne tresqu'à la mée,	E par mal talent l'alumerent;
E de Costantin li cuntrées	Bruscham-port, Paillart, Monteborc,
Out destruites è desertées.	E li chastel de Chieresborc.

Roman de Rou, i. pp. 19, 21.

⁴ Seguin, Mil. Hist. des Bocains, p. 72. Vire, 1816.

A.D. 863. stood to Rollo may, however, admit of some debate. M. de Gerville simply terms him a near relative;¹ but another writer, who has more fully investigated the subject,² represents him as a grandson of Drogo, whom he terms one of the sons of Rollo, by that daughter of Count Berenger whom the Norseman chief took captive at the sack of Bayeux, and married "according to the custom of the Danes, his ancestors." This assertion will require a little qualification; but the deduction is so far correct as to warrant us in dwelling for awhile upon the parentage and line of Rollo, which none but the Norse chroniclers seem clearly to have unfolded.

About the time when Biörn made his irruption on the Neustrian coasts, Norway, the region whence most of the Norman settlers had their origin and name, was divided into a score of petty independent kingdoms. Halfdan the Dark, master of Nordenfeld, made some successful attempts to extend the limits of his mountain reign; but it was reserved for his son Harald, who succeeded his father about the year 863, to consolidate his conquests, and achieve the dominion to which he had aspired. In several fierce conflicts he made himself master of the Nommedal, Nordmeer, and Romsdael, deposed in the districts which he overran, such of the ancient jarls or counts as refused to him the oath of fealty, and bestowed their domains upon his own chieftains. Stripped of their hereditary dignity, the disaffected counts equipped a number of vessels, with the hope of re-establishing their former independence; but Harald, preparing an equally large fleet, and manning it with a choice body of young warriors, attached to his cause by presents of fine armour

¹ Châteaux, p. 247, in *Mém. des Antiq. de la Norm.* t. i.

² M. Toustain de Richebourg, *Hist. Généal. de la Maison de Toustain-Frontebosq.*

and decorated wolf-skins, overthrew them in 869, in the great A.D. 869. naval battle of Hafursfiord, in which three of the Norwegian kings were slain. The survivors rallied in the northern islands; but Harald vigorously followed up the blow. He chased them from the Isles of Shetland; pursued them to the Orkneys; chastised the Vi-kings of the Hebrides and mainland of Scotland; destroyed, wherever he landed, the holds of their resort; and, finally chasing them to the Isle of Man, took possession of that as of the other islands. To secure the perpetuity of these conquests, he left behind him, when he returned to Norway, one of his most powerful, wealthy, and distinguished nobles, as governor of this northern archipelago.

ROGVALD, JARL OF MØERE.

Rogvald, lord of Møre, was the name of the jarl to whom he confided this important trust. He was descended in the third generation from Eistin Glumru, king of Drontheim, who, sprung from a daughter of the famous Sigurd Hring of Denmark, had transmitted to his issue the pride of an affiliation with one of the most ancient royal houses of the North.¹

When Harald made his first expedition into Romsdael A.D. 865. and Møre, Rogvald was undignified with title. He was simply one of the *riksmænd*, or rich proprietors of the province; but by an early submission to the monarch, Rogvald appears to have conciliated equally his esteem and confidence,—insomuch that, on his return to Drontheim, Harald summoned him to his presence, girt the sword to his baldric, suspended the shield from his neck, proclaimed him his jarl,

¹ M. Depping, vol. ii. p. 56, from Suhm, Hist. Crit. du Danemarck, iii. p. 732, and Schœning, Hist. de Norv. vol. iii.

A.D. 866. with the privilege of sitting on a superior seat, or dais, and committed to his care the government of Northern Møre and Romsdael, with a little fleet of vessels to repress the insults of the foreign pirates. On the extension of Harald's power over Southern Møre, that province also was joined to his domain. Rogvald studied to repay, by his services, the monarch's liberality. In the depth of winter, he set forward on an expedition against Vemund, the petty king of Vyrda. After marching northward to the Odense desert, he struck to the south, through the district of Fiord, surprised the monarch by night at his convivial banquet, surrounded him in his hall, and setting fire to the building—a frequent stratagem in that barbaric age—destroyed him, with ninety of his followers or friends: the whole fleet and treasure of Vemund was the fruit of this spirited inroad.¹ Rogvald was the father of a numerous offspring. By the first of his wives he had four sons, Einar, Halladur, Rollagur, and Ivar, the latter of whom had accompanied King Harald against the pirates of the Isle of Man: he perished in that expedition;² and it was to console the afflicted parent for his loss, that Harald now conferred on him the jarldom of the Orkneys. By Hildir, his second wife, the daughter of Rolf Nefio, the Jarl of Møre had two other sons, Hrolf and Thorer; but his first family had arrived at manhood when the second were but infants. Rogvald, being obliged to return to Norway, after an active warfare for some time with the pirates of the Western Islands, committed the fief to his brother Sigurd. He, by the aid of Turstain Rauda, or the Red, son of Olaus the Fair and Audna the Bright-eyed, carried the terror of his arms to Scotland, overrunning

¹ Circa 873. Snorro, i. p. 85.

² Id. p. 98.

Caithness and Sutherland, as far as the tumulus of Eckials. A.D. 874.

In this maraud he slew, with his own hand, Malbrigdator, the Scottish chieftain, whose head he slung in triumph at his saddle-bow; but, as he rode, the front tooth of the jaw-bone struck the hollow of his thigh, with so much force as to inflict a mortal wound. He perished from the inflammation it produced, was buried under a tumulus upon the hill of Eckials; and Gottorm, his son, succeeded to his earldom.

On the return of Rogvald into Norway, he entertained the king, in Mære, at a splendid banquet. Harald, it appears, had been stimulated by love yet more strongly than by ambition to his recent conquests. The Saga says, that when he was the simple chief of Nordenfeld, he had made love to the Princess Gyda, daughter of Eric, king of Upsal; that the haughty maiden had declared she would never give her hand but to a prince of equal power with the Kings of Sweden or Denmark; and that Harald, thereupon, had sworn that he would neither cut nor comb his tresses, till he had conquered all "beneath the polar sky" of Norway. He had faithfully observed his vow. Ten years had passed in the pursuit of empire; and, from the unshorn growth of his dishevelled hair, he had long since obtained the surname of *Lufa*, or the Frightful. But Norway was now entirely subdued: he was freed from his singular engagement; and, after the solemnity of bathing, he accordingly gave the sacrificial scissors to the hand of Rogvald, who officiated as his tonsor, and, in admiration of the change which he had the honour of effecting on the royal person, addressed him by the new surname of *Harfagra*, or the Fair-haired — an appellation by which he has ever since been known in story. The haughty Gyda had, of course, neither power nor inclination to resist these proofs of his attachment; and their nuptials

A.D. 874. were celebrated with the pomp of banquets and the song of scalds.

In the Orcades, meanwhile, Gottorm, the son of Sigurd, dying without issue, after a year's enjoyment of his dignity, the Danish and Norwegian pirates resumed their wonted ravages; tidings of which being conveyed to Rogvald, he sent Halladur, his son, upon the western seas. Halladur assumed the style of jarl; and in autumn, with a force sufficient to inspire respect, departed to his fief. But before the end of spring he grew weary of waging warfare against these stern marauders, transferred his command and elevated seat to another warrior, and returned unbidden to his native land. Rogvald was stung with this dishonourable flight; and, summoning his sons before him, publicly upbraided the delinquent with the disgrace which he had brought upon his family. His anger was somewhat appeased by the declaration of Einar, that he would willingly engage never to revisit his paternal valleys, if the abandoned fief were given to his keeping. The relenting father took him at his word: he equipped an oblong vessel, instructed him in its right management, and instantly consigned him to the seas. Einar fully justified his father's hopes. In his very first attack he slew the two noted vi-kings, Thor Treskegg and Kalf-Skurfva, and chanted, in rude verse, the victory he had won. But new and singular events rendered his position difficult. The King of Norway had a numerous family: the Sagas give him ten wives, and twice as many favourites; whose sons, with revenues far too limited for their ambition, began to scorn the petty provinces which they were set to govern, and to cast a wishful eye on the estates of the more wealthy jarls. Two of them at length, Gudraud and Halfdan-Haleg, raised the banner of revolt. With forces suddenly

collected, they took their rapid march to Møre, and sur- A.D. 883.
rounded Rogvald in his hall, which being set on fire, the
illustrious noble, with sixty of his household, perished in
the flames. When this tragedy was perpetrated, Halfdan
hastened, in three oblong barks, to secure the Orkneys, whilst
his brother entered on his new domains. But the King,
exasperated by their rebellion, and the loss of his most faithful
vassal, arrayed an army, seized upon the fierce Gudraud, and
sent him to expiate his crime in distant banishment; and,
to mark his deep affection for the memory of his slain friend,
he bestowed the fief of Romsdael and Møre upon his son
Thorer, surnamed the Silent, with the hand of Alofa, his own
daughter, the increase of his Queen Alfhilda.

An eastern wind, meanwhile, carried Halfdan to the
Orkneys. Einar fled at his approach; but returned, in the
twilight of an autumn evening, and took the usurper by
surprise. To the prowess of the warrior Einar joined the
talents of the scald; and before he commenced the battle,
reverting in fancy to his native hills and the tragic fortunes of
his father, he chanted his rude war-song on the winds:

I see no flying javelin stir,¹
Flung by good Hrolf or Hrollagur,
The daring cohort of the foe;—
And while it soothes, this eve, my woe,
To think I shall avenge thy fall,
My father! o'er the gay salute
Of cups, sits not Jarl Thorer mute
In his inglorious hall?

The conflict was but short. Halfdan was compelled to
precipitate himself from his canoe, and saved himself from

¹ *Sekat ec Hrolfs or hendi, &c.*—SNORRO, i. 107.

A.D. 883. slaughter solely by his sleight in diving, the victor taunting him, all the while he pursued him through the waves, with his amphibious nature and his wizard transformations. In the morning, he sent his warriors to search the adjacent islands. The princely fugitive was taken on a desert rock, and brought before the jarl. He was a sacrifice fit for the son of Thor,—the manners of the northern nations had been but little humanised since the celebrated Regner Lodbrog chanted his ferocious death-song;—Einar seized his sword, with one blow clove in twain the victim's back-bone from the neck to the thigh, and in Runic verse took up his song of triumph:

Now am I blest; my biting blade¹
 The grisly Sisters well have swayed;
 By Rogvald's fourth free son alone
 The people's column lies o'erthrown—
 The forest-pine is cleft in twain!
 Now rear the pile—above his bones
 Heave the grey tumulus of stones—
 I have avenged the slain!

On the tidings of this tragedy, the King of Norway prepared his fleet, and departed for the Orkneys, his bosom torn with grief and indignation. Einar, apprised of the impending danger by his friends, replied; “Many are the men of noble stem, who, from various quarters, rush headlong to destroy me—me, the just avenger of the dead! But they know not upon whom, before they prostrate Einar, the eagle shall be called to whet his beak and talons.” Conscious, however, of his inability to oppose force by force, he ferried himself over to the mainland, and again exclaimed; “Many are

¹ *Rekit hefe ec Ragnvallds dautha*, &c.—SNORRO, i. 107.

the finely-bearded men who are condemned for sweeping A.D. 884. the flock from the hill-fold; but I, the chieftain of the isles, for the death of a youth, the offspring of the mighty. They tell me that ruin overhangs me from the angry king, because I clove in war the shield of Harald, the youth that gladdened his swift years; but Einar will not fear it!" Protected by the rocks of Caithness, he was, in fact, secure; and the monarch being thus precluded from wreaking his resentment on the offender, consented to forgive the crime, by the payment of sixty marks of gold on the part of those who were implicated in the capture of his son. As the inhabitants were little able to raise so large a sum, Einar paid it for them, on condition that the inhabitants should transfer to him the whole of their allodial lands; averting thus to his own aggrandisement, with singular address, the storm that had threatened both his fortunes and existence.

Einar enjoyed for a long time his jarldom of the isles; and increasing day by day in wealth and fame, saw Arnkel, Erlind, and Torfidur, his sons, grow up around him, gifted with every accomplishment that a Norseman could desire. When Eric, surnamed Blodox, the second king of Norway, in the time of King Edmund, son of Athelstan of England, ravaged with his predatory hordes of Norsemen, whom our historians so uniformly term the Danes, the southern coasts of England, the two elder sons of Einar joined the expedition. Wherever the Norsemen came, they carried terror and destruction; until Olave, the Saxon sheriff in the south, summoned sufficient resolution to make head against them. A furious battle was the consequence, attended at first with great slaughter to the Saxons; but these being joined by fresh forces from the adjoining counties, the Norsemen were at nightfall completely overpowered. Five of their princes,

A.D. 942. besides many of inferior note, were left dead upon the field; Eric, Arnkel, and Erlind, being of the number. On the death of Einar, Torfidur succeeded to his rule, and was the recognised jarl of the northern islands in 942, when his brothers fell in battle. By Grelota, daughter of Dungadar, earl of Caithness, he was the father of a numerous offspring, who continued to figure in the Orkneys until the time of the Conquest.¹ It is to the fall in battle of Jarl Sigurd, his grandson, that the celebrated ode of Gray refers—"The Fatal Sisters."

But previous to the cruelty exercised by Einar upon Halfdan, a younger son of Rogvald had braved the king's authority. This was no other than the celebrated Hrolf, or Rollo, who having cruised as a pirate for many years in the Baltic and other seas, had acquired the character of the most daring sea-king of his times. The writers of the North represent him as wandering from his earliest youth far from his paternal halls, whilst his brethren enjoyed a settlement on their respective fiefs. Returning in the summer of 876 from one of his marauds, he landed on the isle of Vigen, where Harald then resided, and had recourse to the ancient usage of *strand-hug*, or harrying the coast for cattle. This the monarch had denounced in his dominions, upon the severest penalties; and irritated at the contempt thus shewn to his institutions, he proceeded to convoke a *thing*, or council of the national sages, by whom the illustrious criminal was sentenced to perpetual banishment. Deeply afflicted at the shame of such a judgment, Hildir, Rollo's mother, daughter to Hrolf-Nefio, implored the king to mitigate the sentence, but in vain; and returning to her

¹ Snorro, i. p. 530—551.

hall, she is said to have given voice to her distress in unpre- A.D. 876.
 meditated verse.¹ Rollo had been too long habituated to
 exile to feel with equal keenness this visitation of his rapine.
 Unfurling once more to the breeze the sails of his adven-
 turous ships, and summoning to deck all classes of men that
 would take part in his new fortunes, he bade adieu for ever
 to the bays and piny crags of his native land, and sought,
 in the more genial regions which he and his fellow Norsemen
 had already visited with their swords, some compensation for
 his late disgrace. From this incidental quarrel in a rocky
 nook of the tempestuous North, so obscure as to have escaped
 the notice of almost every historian, originated the powerful
 empire or dominion of the Normans in France, Apulia, and
 England. But before pursuing Rollo into France, it may be
 proper to recur to his elder brother Thorer, and the fortunes
 of some of his descendants. Their individual actions are a
 faithful reflection of the half-barbaric life which the whole
 of the northern nations of Europe led, from the eighth to
 the eleventh century; and the strange and savage pictures
 they present can scarcely be contemplated, without imposing
 on us much of the same curiosity and wonder with which
 we regard the images of things that have for ever passed
 away from the earth—the bones of some gigantic mam-
 moth, or the fossil skeletons of creatures which the waters
 of the great deluge may have left embedded in clay or
 marble. If the narrative should seem discursive, a ready
 excuse will be found in the neglect which almost every

¹ *Hafnit Nefjo nafna, &c.*

Flingst thou the name of Nefio
 From the land thus, like a foe!
 Wherefore should thy power condemn
 Son of such heroic stem?

It is madness thus to dare
 The roused wolf that will not spare
 Harald's flock, or Gyda's brood,
 Venturing in his haunted wood.

SNORRO, i. 100.

A.D. 921. English writer who has treated of these early ages, has evinced towards the historic record whence it has been drawn.

JARL SIGURD.

Thorer, jarl of Mœere, had, by the Princess Alofa, a daughter, Bergliota, whom he married to Sigurd, son of Haco, son of Griotgard, jarl of Hlatha, a noble who, exercising the chief authority in Drontheim, in the absence of King Harald, seems to have occupied a similar place in the monarch's favour to that which the lamented Rogvald once enjoyed. To him also was committed the education of the Norwegian princes, with whom Sigurd, surnamed the Opu-
lent, had consequently grown up, more like an equal than a subject. The youth fixed his own residence in Hlauthom; he was pre-eminently celebrated for his wisdom. When Thora—the young favourite whom Harald wedded in his seventieth year—sought to rejoin her husband, then far north of Drontheim, it was under Sigurd's guardianship and steerage that she left her native isle of Mostur. Thora was the most beloved and beautiful of all the wives of Harald; but this northern journey had nearly put a period to her influence. As night came on, Sigurd drove his vessel into a small bay amidst the cliffs; it was there, on an inhospitable rock, that her throes surprised her. But the practised aid of Sigurd was at hand; he hailed the birth, poured water on the boy, and named him Hacon, after his own father. As Harald's years declined, although Eric Blodox, of all his numerous sons, was nominated heir elective, Hacon appears to have been equally his father's favourite. He was sent to spend his early years in England at the court of King Athelstan, by whom he was baptised and patronised as the

successor to King Eric; and, when he came to occupy the throne in Drontheim, was known by the enviable surname of *The Good*. Harald Harfagra died an octogenarian, about 931, after a reign of three and sixty years; and his son Eric, whose death has been already glanced at, in 942. In the hall of council Hacon was elected king; his elevation was regarded with secret indignation by the widowed queen Gunhilda and her sons; but their hostility was held for a long time in check by the prudence and sagacity of Sigurd.

The compliment which this noble had paid Prince Hacon on his birth, the monarch with all courtesy returned, when Bergliota, during an entertainment which the munificent count prepared for him in Hlauthom, on the night of the Yule festival 921, brought forth her first-born son. Hacon poured the water of lustration on the infant, and, imposing his own name, invoked for the young child the choicest gifts of Odin and of Freya. The scalds of his court in after years would naturally deem the prayer fulfilled; for as his father excelled in wisdom, Haquin the Jarl became proverbially renowned for wealth, valour, and personal endowments.

The Christian education which King Hacon had received, indisposed him, however, from any great personal observance of the rites and superstitions of his people. He sought with perseverance, and with some success, to introduce amongst them the milder creed and lessons he had learned in England. But he met with difficulties at the very outset. Jarl Sigurd, his most influential counsellor and dearest friend, was a strict observer of the Runic superstition; and having acquired so high a reputation for sanctity and wisdom, he was called to officiate constantly at the public sacrifices, pouring out after his divination the first cup of mead drawn through the flame to Odin, for the health and welfare of the king; the second

A.D. 942-61. to Nord and Friga, for peaceful times and happy harvests; the *Braga* cup to the renown of their heroic issue; the *Minne* cup to their departed friends, the dwellers of the tumuli.

Winning, notwithstanding, some of his nobles to the rite of baptism, Hacon ventured to send to England for instructors, and publicly expressed the wish that all his subjects should receive their sacred doctrines. In this the inhabitants of Mære and Romsdael referred themselves wholly to the pleasure of the capital; so that Hacon built some churches, and calling together the citizens of Drontheim, invited their concurrence in abolishing the rites of paganism. The citizens requested that a question so momentous might be carried to the national council. A *thing*, therefore, was convoked at Frosto, which was attended by delegates from every province. In the midst of them King Hacon rose, and by various arguments endeavoured to communicate to them his own fervour for the Christian faith. Asbiorn of Gala-dael succeeded; he reminded the king, that when he first entered their hall of solemn concourse, he was chosen king from the conviction that he would sacredly observe the institutions of their ancestors, till dismissed into the skies; but that now they greatly doubted whether, in proposing to them an abandonment of the worship which had been observed from the elder *Brunaold* age,—an age that was graced with a more excellent race of beings than themselves, all delighting in sacrifices—he did not seek to plunge them into slavery, rather than to emancipate them from their thralldom, by the admirable art he spoke of. That they had hitherto held him so high in estimation, as to have committed to him, with the execution of the public decrees, supreme judgment upon life and death,—a regard which they would ever yield, so long as he pursued his present views with gentleness and moderation: but that

if he intended to enforce his purpose by compulsion, it was his interest to know, that the people must constitute another king. Which, therefore, of the two alternatives he chose, it would become him to disclose before the hall dissolved. Loud applauses followed his oration. When the murmur had subsided, Sigurd declared, on the king's part, that he would follow his religious views with a strict attention to the free will of his subjects, and without any diminution of regard for them. And as a pledge of his sincerity, he would propose that the king should, like his father, institute a festival,—a suggestion which was well received by the majority, and the council quietly broke up; the jarl at the same time recommending Hacon not too rapidly to introduce repugnant customs, as there were already symptoms of commotion on the brows of many.

In every succeeding difficulty Sigurd acted the same mediatorial part; and it was mainly by his wise and prudent counsels that the new religion obtained footing in the land: but it required all his address to prevent the collision of the darker bigots with the monarch. When the time came round for the autumnal sacrifices, the king, as was his wont, attended, but he had hitherto taken his repast apart with his peculiar friends. Of this the populace now complained, declaring that he disdained to sit upon the presidential seat of stone. Sigurd apprised him of their murmurs, and advised him to ascend the seat. When the first cup was to be emptied, Sigurd pronounced the usual divination, and poured out the consecrated urn to Odin. He refilled it for the king. The king took the cup, and signed it with the cross. Kar of Grytingen immediately asked the meaning of the sign, and whether the king meant by it to cast wrath upon the rite. Sigurd dexterously answered, that it implied the same devo-

A.D. 961. tion which led them to reverence the divinity whom they confessed,—that the king preferred to affix that figure on the cup as his own sign to Thor. With these words the rising murmur was that evening appeased; but the next day the people crowded to the monarch, and expressed their pleasure that he should taste the sacred horse-flesh. When he would in nowise consent, they offered him the broth; he declined to take it: they praised its goodness; he again refused: and outcries rose, with every sign of an approaching tumult. Seeing this, Count Sigurd knelt before the king; he implored him at least to bend over the cauldron, and just to touch the liquid with his lips. The king, after some moments of hesitating thought, complied; and mounting afterwards the kingly seat, in sight of all the populace, the festal passed away with every mark of satisfaction.

An equal peril, however, almost instantly succeeded. Eight of the principal nobles, all zealous of the ancient superstition, leagued together, with some of the people of Drontheim, to abolish Christianity, and compel the king to abandon his new faith. Their first act was the burning of three churches, and the slaughter of three Christian priests; their next was to invite from Denmark the sons of Queen Gunhilda, and to raise an army that should carry conquest in its train. But the genius of Sigurd was equal to the crisis. He sought to persuade the king not to abandon Drontheim, the heart of his dominions, and, least of all, to alienate the affections of its citizens by the threats into which he was sometimes betrayed. And when he found the monarch bent on retreating into southern Mære, he used all his address to reconcile the men of Drontheim, and prevailed on several of them to join his banner. Leading, then, an army to the succour of the king, he joined

battle with the rebel warriors in the plain of Augvalld. It A.D. 961. was sternly fought; but fortune went with Sigurd. Gottorm, one of the sons of Eric, fell beneath the sword of Hacon; the others fled to Jutland. In five ensuing fields they were equally successful; but, in the very moment of his final victory, an arrow, directed, as the Norsemen thought, by the magic of Gunhilda, who had studied necromancy in Finmark, fell from the sky upon the arm of Hacon, inflicting a pernicious wound. He climbed his bark and sped to Alfrecstadt, a country hall which he had built upon the rock where he was born. He reached it towards night; when, feeling death approach, he imparted to Sigurd his last wishes for the administration of the kingdom; sent messengers to Denmark for the sons of Eric; recommended his friends to their peculiar regard; confessed and bewailed his past transgressions, and especially deplored the little zeal he had displayed in the extension of that holy faith which he had once confessed. Being asked if he would have his bones conveyed to England for Christian sepulture, he touchingly replied, that as he had lived a pagan, he deserved nothing better than a pagan's funeral. All Norway saddened at the fall of so merciful a prince. They bore him, with his arms and banners, to Soeim, in North Hordaland, raised the tumulus over his remains, and with loud voices, according to their ancient custom, commended him to Valhalla and the feast of Thor. Eivind Scalda-spiller, the princely scald, composed his funeral ode; which, if little in unison with the feelings that may be supposed to have occupied the dying Christian, is remarkable for the glowing fervour of the verse, and the Runic wildness of the storied imagery.¹ King Hacon died about the year 961.

¹ Appendix A.

A.D. 963. Harald Grafeld, the eldest son of Eric, succeeded to the throne of Norway. Sigurd shewed but little disposition for his friendship, for his heart continued mourning for his slaughtered friend. The provinces of Drontheim, as he had enjoyed them under Hacon, were secured to him for ever, and a mutual bond of peace was the result. But the ambition of Gunhilda, and the avarice of her sons, had long since marked him for their victim. Their treacherous designs were, for a season, held at bay by Harald, who urged the extreme danger of provoking a man of Sigurd's popularity and genius, any harm to whom would surely find avengers. But by degrees their venomous counsels were instilled; and the king's first step was to silence all suspicion. He sent heralds to invite the jarl to a renewal of their friendship: Sigurd received them honourably, returned several presents by them, but excused his personal attendance, upon the plea of serious business. Thus baffled in their object, the messengers sought out Griotgard, a younger brother of Count Sigurd, who lived a private life, upon summer ravages and spoil, dignified by no title, distinguished by no virtues. To him they offered splendid presents, and the honour of introduction to the court. The lure took: he was received by Gunhilda and the king with their most gracious smiles; was made a party to their secret projects; and in the end vowed to acquaint them whenever the dreaded Sigurd should be open to attack.

It was autumn now in Stior-dael; Sigurd went to Oglo to celebrate the days of festal. He journeyed with far fewer attendants than was his practice, for he felt secure in the recent message of the king. The base Griotgard was, however, on the watch; his emissaries sped to Harald. In four barks, filled with warriors, the king and Erling his brother

rowed by night to Drontheim; the stars lit them on their way; Griotgard joined them. That very night the hall of Oglo was in flames. In the midst of mirth and of confiding pleasure, Sigurd and his numerous associates perished at the blazing banquet!

JARL HAQUIN.

The murder of Sigurd took place two years after the death of King Hacon. So deeply was the count beloved by the Norwegians, that a general insurrection was the consequence of the crime. Ships were accordingly launched upon the lakes and bays, an army was raised, and Haquin, son of the deceased noble, was chosen to command it. For three years, with various success, Haquin pursued a war of vengeance with the sons of Gunhilda: "The lover of the red-mooned shield," says Einar the scald, in speaking of these troubles, "was carried in his warlike vessels; the wrestler of kings shook bravely from his sails the sleet of arrows and of javelins; and, sparing no one in his wrath, sustained with blood the life of his fierce war-wolves. Many were the stormy whirlpools, the billowy conflicts he passed through, ere, true to the desire and welfare of his people, the sleepless gladiator ruled the regions of the east."¹ An accommodation was at length come to by the intervention of their mutual friends; by which the province of Drontheim, to be held as freely as his father held it, was solemnly ceded to the jarl. It was strictly observed for about three years: a compact of friendship which the warrior then made in Heidmark with three potent nobles, roused the jealousy of Gunhilda and her sons; under the pretence of proceeding on a summer piracy,

¹ Snorro, p. 177.

A.D. 970. they raised a considerable army; slew Trygvo, one of the allies, and twelve of his chiefs, at a friendly colloquy, and Gudraud, another, whilst issuing from a peaceful banquet; they then set sail to Drontheim, to raise open war against Jarl Haquin. Haquin, at the tidings, collected together a few forces and a fleet, and with fire and sword carried ravage and alarm into the royal provinces; but finding himself much too inferior in numbers to hazard a general engagement, he took ship for Denmark, and sped away the summer months in piracy upon the Baltic. So deeply, however, was the king detested for his avarice and cruelty, that, upon the jarl's return in autumn, a large army flocked to his banner, with which he repossessed himself of Drontheim, and was hailed by the people, on his reappearance, with the surname of *The Good*. The king, meanwhile, fled into Moere, and had recourse again to the malignant genius of Griotgard: Griotgard readily undertook, on the promise of fresh honours, to betray his nephew to destruction; but fortune uniformly saved the warrior from his snares, as though with the express view of rendering him the avenger of his former crime. Her justice lingered not: for Griotgard undertaking to lead the forces of the king, the two armies shortly met near the waters of the Vina; and in the battle that ensued, the assassin, beneath Haquin's arm, paid a full atonement for his treachery. After this victorious conflict, in which two counts and a multitude of common soldiers perished, Haquin took to his ships a second time, and, ravaging the southern coasts, revisited the court of Denmark, where he spent the winter with King Harald, the son of Gorm. So tempting an occasion was not to be disdained. The Norwegian monarch, in his absence, proceeded to chastise the men of Drontheim: at the head of an

invading army, he imposed a heavy tribute on the people of the province ; but Haquin found means both to confirm them in their attachment to his own person, and to direct, in some degree, their operations still. Influenced by his counsels, and indignant at the badge of slavery which the king sought to impose, the rural population rose *en masse* upon the spoilers, and vindicated their independence by the slaughter of Prince Erling. Whilst these events were passing in Norway, Haquin was actively engaged in forming a league of friendship with the King of Denmark, and in attaching to his interests Prince Harald, his nephew, a youth who, from his many piratic expeditions, and the plunder which he bore from them, had obtained the cognomen of the Sea-Gull. By various arguments and representations addressed to their respective passions, he at length rendered these personages plastic to his purpose. In fulfilment of their project, Gorm Harald sent messengers to apprise the King of Norway, that the jarl, his enemy, had sunk under a mortal sickness ; and to invite the monarch into Denmark, where, they said, it was their king's intention to proclaim him his adoptive heir. The lure was too tempting for Harald Grafeld to resist : with three boats filled with warriors he sped in summer to the Danish coast, and anchored in Lima-fiord, near a place called Halsi. Thither Gulharald hastened with a little army, in nine vessels, and provoked the King of Norway to an immediate conflict. " That illustrious hero," says a contemporary scald, " who had the daring to accept the strife, and to bedew the fields with blood, addressed to his followers words of eloquence and heroism ; the king, who had wandered to those foreign regions, bade the weapons of his nobles to be brandished, and his hardy nobles to be mindful of their families and fame. The guardian rover of the ocean fell

A.D. 979. upon him in Elyma-fiord; the hero's death was accomplished by the man who was all-eloquent in council: Harald Grafeld sleeps in Halsi!"

The slaughter of Harald, king of Norway, occurred thirteen years after that of Sigurd. It was the means of raising Haquin to the very height of his ambition; for, immediately after the battle, Harald Gorm invaded Norway with a fleet of sixty vessels, and being received with open arms by the inhabitants, he constituted Haquin governor of seven provinces, with absolute jurisdiction there, possession of the royal manors, and a more ample tribute than had ever been enjoyed by the sons of Harald Harfagra. He had indeed, for a while, a competitor in Rainfred, another of the sons of Eric; but this prince being soon compelled, by the great battle fought near Thinganel in Sogn, to fly from Norway, the jarl proceeded, with but little opposition, to extend his dominion, and was soon the acknowledged ruler over thirteen provinces. He sent, it appears, annually to the King of Denmark fifty falcons, in tribute for his fief; but even this acknowledgment was remitted after the important services which Haquin rendered to the monarch in his wars against the Emperor Otho. When their discords were composed, he, as well as Harald Gorm, were persuaded to receive the rite of baptism, and returned to Norway, its undisputed king, after a celebrated victory in duel over Count Ottar, the governor of Gothland, who had ventured to dispute his progress. But his acceptance of Christianity appears to have been merely a nominal assent; for observing, on his homeward journey, a flight of two ravens, whose croak was regarded as a demand from Odin for his wonted sacrifice, he renewed to the pagan divinity his intermitted rites, restored his fallen shrines, and by his edicts sought to abro-

gate throughout his kingdom the sacred ordinances of the A.D. 981. Christians. His relapse subjected him to a visit from the Danish king, who displayed his own zeal for the new tenets, by wasting with fire and sword the territories of his former friend. But a much more formidable danger threatened him on the accession of Prince Sweno to the throne of Denmark; for, at a banquet given upon this occasion, the Vi-kings of the Baltic bound themselves by a solemn oath, within three years to destroy or drive King Haquin from his government. The naval battle at Hiorunga-Vagur, in which they sought to execute their oath, was one of the most important that had been fought in the northern seas since that of Hafursfiord. In his disposition for the conflict, King Haquin occupied the centre of the line with sixty sail, against the navy of Jarl Sigvald, consisting of but twenty. Swein, one of the sons of Haquin, supported by two other eminent commanders, with an equal fleet, opposed upon the left wing the brave Vagno, son of Ako, with another twenty. Eric, another son of Haquin, commanded the right wing, and stood opposed in this array to the two celebrated Vi-kings of Joms, Bo-Crassus, and his brother Sigurd. At a given signal the fleets joined; and so furiously did the assailants ply their darts and arrows, that Haquin's coat-of-mail, and the very helmet on his brow, were very soon shattered into fragments. The Norse writers describe, with more than their wonted particularity, the turns and movements of this memorable fight. The ships of the vi-kings were fewer, but of larger size and structure. At the first assault, Jarl Vagno broke through the vessels of young Sweino; but Eric, in his winged ship, came straight to his assistance, and drove back the vi-king to his former station. In the interim Bo-Crassus had dispersed the ships of Eric, and slipped his anchors to pursue the fugitives with

A.D. 981. more adroitness. The return of Eric renewed all the fury of the battle; with two or three of his light barks he bore down upon the pirate's ship, and was aided in his onset by a dreadful storm that rose, which blew an icy sleet and shower of hailstones in the faces of the foe. The tempest deepened the horror and tumult of the engagement, which continued, notwithstanding, with unabated rage, till Sigvald, no longer able to withstand the combined wrath of Haquin and the elements, cut his cables, turned his ship, and, though angrily commanded by Vagno to maintain the strife, fled from the scene of conflict, with five and thirty vessels in his train. The indignant Vagno bestowed upon the recreant, as he stooped to guide the rudder, a parting salutation; but the unfaithful lance flew diverse from its mark. King Haquin then brought his own ship alongside that of Bo-Crassus, and many feats of arms were upon both sides achieved. It went sorely with the vi-king. He had fixed his haughty foot upon the forecastle, when a blow from a Norwegian, named Turstain, shattered his helmet into fragments, and inflicted a severe, disfiguring wound upon his face. The Norwegian smiled, turned round to his associates, and said, that the man would never more delight the Danish maidens with his beauty, when he mingled with them in the dance. His hands were next shorn off by some succeeding foe, and fresh assailants were seen crowding to his deck: upon which he gathered up in his arms, as well as he was able, the caskets in which his choicest treasures were contained, and, shouting to his fellows to follow his example, plunged headlong in the sea. Several obeyed their leader's voice; but many still fought on; no one was found to deprecate the fury of the conqueror by any cries for quarter: whilst a hand was free to wield a sword or toss a lance,

the stubborn fight was still maintained. The very wounded and the dying gave tokens of a cool ferocity and of unmoved endurance scarcely conceivable in this milder age. A.D. 981-96.

The tumult of destruction was now over; and King Haquin was resting, with several of his soldiers, in one of his long open boats, when a string was heard to sound upon the bow in the vessel of Bo-Crassus, and the next moment a warrior named Gitzor, who, in a splendid garment, sat next to the jarl, was transfixed by a formidable arrow. On examining the quarter whence it came, one Havard Hogvand was seen crouching on his haunches, with both his legs lopped off, and the weapon in his hand that had let loose the mortal shaft. He shewed no other sign of anxiety, as his foes approached, than to know whose carcass it was that had plashed into the sea; and died lamenting that his unpropitious fortune had not granted him the glory of prostrating the king instead. It was little in the nature of a Norseman to use his victory with moderation. In the ships of Vagno, where numerous captives had been bound, the insulting conquerors were busy at the work of slaughter, until Prince Eric interposed, and, compelling the barbarians to respect his voice, offered life to such of the survivors as would not disdain the boon. The youth also gave other tokens of superior magnanimity; for when the victors separated, he carried the brave Vagno with him, and, highly admiring the prowess which he had displayed, admitted him to his familiar friendship. He found for him a bride in Ingeburga, the daughter of Torkel Leiro, to whom he gave for dowry a splendid set of household treasure, and to the youth a ship of war, fitted up with every necessary apparatus, in which, with many blessings on the generous hero, he set sail with the lady for his native country, where he

A.D. 996. afterwards, say the historians, became distinguished for his virtues, and as the source whence several of the noblest families of Denmark have subsequently boasted their descent.

By the great victory which he had thus obtained, King Haquin was placed upon a pedestal of equal glory and security. He bore sway in Norway nearly fifteen years. But the success of all his projects of ambition lulled asleep by degrees his first habitual discretion, and long prosperity corrupted his first simplicity of manners. Presuming on his power, and hurried off from virtue by his headlong passions, he at length began to carry dishonour into the families of his subjects,—heedless of the resentment which his injuries excited; so that his name became shortly as odious to the people as it was once respected and beloved. One case of this nature, of peculiar and glaring insult, brought at length his fortunes to a crisis. The country people of the district in which it was committed, rose in angry commotion; and to avoid their indignation, he fled on board his ships, of which Erling, his son, had the command,—a youth eminent for goodness, and of an upright and honourable mind. From thence, in the dusk of evening, after dismissing all but one of his attendants, named Karkur, who had served him from his early youth, he hastened, by the most solitary tracks he could select, to save himself in Orkadale. They passed in a cavern the first night of their wintry journey. Karkur dreamt, and told his dream to Haquin, that a dark man of savage aspect stood before the cave, and terrified him with the mysterious annunciation that Ullo was no more. The heart of the jarl sank within him at the tidings, for he took it as an omen from the Fatal Sisters that his son had ceased to live. And so it proved. Prince Olave, the son of Trygvo, one of the

descendants of Harald Harfagra, had for some time lived A.D. 996. retired in Ireland; but being assured by a recent refugee that the Norwegians were ripe for a revolt, he had that evening entered the bay of Drontheim with five stately vessels, which Erling went to reconnoitre in a three-oared shallop. Finding it, upon a near survey, manned by a hostile party, he winged his little vessel back, but, being mistaken for his father, was instantly pursued by Olave with all the sail that he could crowd. The youth, when near the shore, ran his shallop on a rock, and plunged into the waves to reach the mainland less observed; but he was unfortunately outstripped and intercepted, and the blow of an oar put a period to his youthful promise. Ignorant, however, of the real fact, the jarl, with the first light of morning, sent Karkur to his lady Thora with a message, desiring her to come to him unseen. She came: and he besought her to find some means of concealing him, until the angry multitude should be dispersed. She stated, that there was no doubt but that every place in her neighbourhood would be strictly examined, yet that there was one recess beside a rock which was the least likely to attract observation. To this spot she conducted him; his domestic amplified the vault; and Thora, with a screen of turf and bushes, securely closed it from the sight. Meanwhile, Prince Olave was received with open arms by the inhabitants; and Thora being known to be intrusted with the jarl's most secret counsels, the closest search was made for him in the vales and rocks around her dwelling. He was once so critically circumstanced as even to hear a cryer from the rock beside him set a price upon his life to the surrounding crowd. The two inmates of the cavern sat that moment facing a few rays of light that streamed in upon them

A.D. 996. through the leafless boughs ; and the jarl noticing the colour of his servant come and go in quick transition, demanded whether the change upon his countenance was to be considered as any indication of a purpose to betray him. Karkur protested that he would never be guilty of so odious a crime. “ It is wisely said,” replied the jarl ; “ for as the same night gave us being, so but a little time is likely to intervene, when the one or the other shall be called to make his exit from it.” The next night Karkur woke in no small degree of agitation ; the jarl demanded the reason of it. “ I dreamt,” said the domestic, “ that I was at Lauthom, and that Olave, the son of Trygvo, bound a chain of gold about my neck.” “ It must have been a ruby chain — a chain of blood,” replied the jarl ; “ be wise, be wary ; remember the great benefits which I have lavished on thee hitherto, and know that choicer benefits than these await thee, if thou art faithful to the last.” In the varying emotions excited by this singular vision and apostrophe, both, as though keeping eager and suspicious watch upon the other, passed the remainder of that night in silence. Towards the blush of morning the jarl began to stir, to heave deep sighs, and, by contracting his knees towards his breast and head, to make as though he would suddenly start upon his feet. The misgiving mind of Karkur was seized with a throe of mingled terror and temptation ; under the spell of which, he drew a knife or poniard that was fixed within his belt, and inflicted in the neck and other vital parts of his companion several mortal stabs, before an arm could be raised to ward the blow. Severing, then, the head from the body, he hastened with it to the son of Trygvo in the hall of Lauthom, impatient to receive the golden chain which had danced before his fancy. But the milder virtues were no

strangers to the breast of Olave. The newly-elected monarch A.D. 996. heard his tale of treachery with abhorrence; and when it was told, delivered him to the axe of the executioner; thus furnishing a lucid and significant commentary on the forebodings of the murdered jarl.

King Haquin perished in the year 996. Besides Eric, Swein, and Erling, he had a son named Hemingur, and two daughters,—Ragnhilda, married to Skopte Skakeson; and Bergliota, whose alliance is hereafter noticed. Ragnhilda left two sons, Orm and Ivar the Fair, both jarls in Upland.¹ Haquin, the son of the latter, married Ranilda, daughter of Magnus, king of Norway; and was equally celebrated for his actions and personal endowments by the contemporary writers of his nation.²

JARL ERIC.

Eric the Jarl, upon the murder of his father Haquin, fled with his brothers, friends, and kinsmen, to the court of Olaus, king of Sweden, by whom he was most honourably received. And many other noble warriors flocking daily to him out of Norway, from fear of their new king, who was endeavouring by force and every torture to propagate the Christian faith, he became with this heroic band a pirate in the Baltic, where he pillaged the isles of Valdemar the Czar, took Alborg, after a blockade, and fired its castle. After four summers spent in these marauds, he sought and won the hand of Gyda, daughter of Sweno, king of Denmark; whilst his brother Swein paid suit to, and obtained the fair Holmfrida, one of the princesses of Sweden. Strengthened by these powerful alliances, the sons of Haquin

¹ Snorro, ii. p. 104.

² Vide Snorro, ii. pp. 103, 104, 112, 140, 141, 145, 197.

A.D. 1000. might indulge the hope of one day repossessing their paternal fiefs; but it was reserved for the wild will of an angry woman to shape out for them the means and way. The King of Denmark had taken for his second bride one Sigrida, surnamed the Imperious, to whom the new King of Norway had once offered his vows of love, but had afterwards forsaken her for his Queen Thyra. To avenge, like another Juno, this scorn of her despised beauty, she compelled her husband to prepare war, drew the Swedish king to take part in the quarrel, and powerfully interested Jarl Eric in the success of the confederacy, by the promise of the third part of Norway, if the son of Trygvo should be slain. The two adverse fleets joined battle near the Isle of Svolda; and the conflict that followed yielded neither in stubbornness nor interest to the celebrated sea-fights by which the fate of Norway had been already twice decided. The King of Norway came against the three allies with a fleet of seventy-one vessels, some of which were gay with variegated sails, and some with beaks of plated gold.¹ But the peculiar pride of the king lay in three ships of unaccustomed size, called the Stork, the oblong Dragon, and the twisted Serpent; for the two latter had serpents' heads figured on the prow, their sterns terminated with a serpent's tail, and the whole being painted of appropriate colours, occasionally overlaid with gold, would, when moving on the waters, with the sails outspread, appear like flying sea-snakes. They were each one manned with the most illustrious chivalry of Norway: the oblong Dragon occupied the centre of the three, under the king's own command, who fixed his station proudly on its poop, conspicuous by his gilded helmet and

Circa
A.D. 1000.

¹ Snorro, i. p. 358.

rose-coloured mantle. His division was opposed by the A.D. 1000. King of Denmark; King Olaus led the right wing, Eric the left. King Sweno first bore down upon the foe, but, after a sharp slaughter from the darts of the two Dragons, he was compelled to disengage himself from the grappling irons of the foe, and to steer back in tattered disarray; the Swedish king then tried his prowess, but with equal ill success; and it was reserved for Eric to retrieve the fortune of the day. The first bark which he attacked, he captured; the second he disabled; and, severing the cables that held the rest together, sent them adrift upon the seas, compelling the bravest of the men that manned them to take refuge in the larger ships. "The war raged then around the oblong Dragon; shining shields were dashed to fragments, and streams of blood set flowing; whilst the jarl, with mighty force, drove his iron-fronted bark against the monster of the waters."¹ So high was its deck, that he fought on this occasion with slings as well as spears, having for his shield a rampart of planks that had been torn from his own deck. On the prow of the Dragon stood the matchless archer, Einar Thambaskelfur, plying his impetuous arrows. With his first shaft he transfixed the crest upon the helm of Eric: the hero, startled by the shock, inquired who sped the dart, when a second narrowly missed him, passing between his arm and side. He turned to the Jarl Finno who stood near him, a small man, but an admirable archer also, and bade him try his skill in slaying the audacious bowyer. The jarl refused, exclaiming that his mortal hour was not arrived; but that he would try what he could do to wound him: he immediately bent his bow, and sent an arrow from the

¹ Haldur the Scald. Snorro, i. p. 365.

A.D. 1000. chord, which severed Einar's bow-string. King Olave heard the snapping of the chord, and inquired what was rent. Einar took the omen, and answered, "your own power and kingdom." "Now not so," said the monarch; "for it is the hand of the Omnipotent, and not the arm of Finno, which disposes both of men and kingdoms." He then delivered his own bow to the shooter, and commanded him to use it; but Einar said that its validity was gone, and, casting it aside, took to his sword and javelin. The king, as has been said, stood at the stern, at times using his bow, and at times launching at once a javelin from both hands. When he saw that victory was long delayed, he accused his warriors of slackness; they answered, that their spears were broken, and their swords all blunted; whereupon he went down to the armory, and delivered other weapons from the capstan, and the battle was renewed with tenfold resolution. Eric, meanwhile, with fifteen others, the flower of his force, made a desperate attempt to board the formidable Dragon. But Prince Hyrning, at the head of the king's body-guard, rushed to the repulse, and the daring jarl was compelled to leap back again into his vessel. A second time he tried, and a second time he failed; but at the third onset he succeeded in planting his flag-staff on the forecastle, and drove the foemen to the vessel's end. Stung by mingled shame, despite, and rage, they fought there for a while with implacable determination; but fresh combatants poured in. Pressed to their last pass, the king at length, with Kolbiorn, the master of the hall, threw himself into the sea; his surviving warriors followed his example, guarding themselves by their shields as well as they were able, whilst they buffeted the waves, until they could be borne away by the smaller barks from the iron storm of darts that rained

around them. The efforts of Eric were now seconded with A.D. 1002. some energy by his kingly allies; the route of the Norwegian navy was total and complete. What became of King Olave was never clearly ascertained: by some he was said to have escaped along the waves unhurt, by some with a severe wound; other accounts state that he lived afterwards in secret exile; but all agree that he never more bore rule in Norway. The admirable Stork and Dragons were, with one consent, declared the spoil of Eric. When their vessels were refitted, the three allies proceeded to the partition of the kingdom.

In this the two monarchs acted with consummate moderation. King Olaus, for his share, had four provinces in Drontheim, either Møre, one Romsdael, and the regions east of Ranarika; all of which, with the exception only of the sovereign right, he settled on Jarl Swein, his son-in-law, a youth pre-eminent in manly beauty and intellectual endowments. The Danish king retained to himself the Isle of Vikia alone; conferring upon Eric, as the husband of his daughter Gyda, his two provinces of Heidmark and Raumarika. In addition to these, twelve provinces formed the jarl's peculiar portion:¹ and hence he is, from this period to the domination of St. Olave, generally regarded as the actual King of Norway. Both brothers had, some time before, submitted to the rite of baptism; and whilst the government of Norway continued in their hands, it is noted to their honour by the historian, that they granted to their subjects a perfect toleration in religion; that they revered, and preserved in their full vigour, the laws of good King Hacon; and that

¹ Four provinces in Drontheim, Halogaland, the other Roms-dael, Fiorthia and Fialia, Sogn, Hordaland and Rogaland, and the southern parts of Agdia, as far as Lythandness. Snorro, i. p. 373.

A.D. 1002. hence they were followed by their people's love, and were happy in their rule and generation.¹

The battle of Svolda took place probably in the year 1000 or 1002. Eric's remaining history may be comprised in a few words. After twelve years' rule in Norway, Canute, the new King of Denmark, solicited his aid against England, where his father Swein had perished.² He accepted the invitation, committing the government, in his absence, to his son Haquin; but as the youth was still a minor, in his seventeenth year, he associated with him in command the celebrated Einar Thambaskelfur; for, after the death of Olave Trygvson, the king had pardoned that warrior for the shafts which he had shot against him, had desired his society in several of his expeditions, and had finally given him in marriage his discreet sister Bergliota,—settling upon them, by way of dowry, various extensive fiefs in Orkadale. Joining his forces then to Canute's, Eric aided the monarch in several fierce conflicts against King Ethelred and Edmund Ironside, more particularly in the siege of London, after the coronation of King Canute at Southampton. It was his intention, after wintering that year in England, to undertake the pilgrimage of Rome; but the design was cut short by his fall in battle against Ulfkel, Duke of the East Angles, the same general who, a few years before, had commanded the Saxons, in the fight of Ringmere Heath, against Kings Sweyn and Olave. "The wealthy jarl," says Thordur the scald, "in the descent on England, caused his fleet to be moored upon the west of London:³ and many were the wounds inflicted, when Ulfkel, and the warriors whom the

¹ Snorro, i. p. 373.

² Feb. 3, 1014. Saxon Chronicle.

³ This account perfectly corresponds with the Saxon Chronicle. "Then came the ships (of Knute) to Greenwich, about the gang-days, and within a

Norwegian hero guided, brandished their blue swords in A.D. 1015. fight." But the wounds which the undaunted jarl received were the sorest; he sank beneath the sword of Ulfkel Snelling. His death must be placed in the summer of the year 1016.

HAQUIN THE JARL.

Amongst a people so warlike and turbulent as the Norwegians were, and in an age when the supreme power lay so frequently at the mercy of the strongest hand or the boldest adventurer, the government of a youth like Haquin would naturally be exposed to occasional danger, though sustained by the personal influence, the prowess, and the experience of Einar. Of the stability of the late king's throne, no stronger proof need be afforded than the friendly terms on which he had lived with various nobles, whose lineage, if lineage were alone consulted, might justly appear to give them an equal claim with himself to the suffrages of the people and the possession of the sceptre. A formidable competitor would undoubtedly have been found upon this score in Olave, surnamed the Fat, a warrior descended, like himself, from a wife of Harald Harfagra, if fortune had not led him to ally his arms with those of Sweyn of Denmark, in search of spoil and honour on the coasts of England. But the sword of Olave was now in want of a new field of enterprise; his departure had been purchased by the rich gifts of Ethelred; and hence the prospect of his native country, concurring with the period of Eric's death, awakened in his mind a new and irresistible

short interval went to London, where they sunk a deep ditch on the north side, and dragged their ships to the west side of the bridge; but the citizens bravely withstood them." p. 197.

A.D. 1016. ambition. Learning, upon his arrival in Norway, that young Haquin was cruising in the sound of Sauthung, he instantly steered thither his two vessels. Haquin, as he gazed upon the blue expanse, noticed their advance, but took them merely for two merchantmen, until he saw them bear down upon him with the swiftness of a falcon on its prey. He had no time to avoid the menaced danger; the beak of his ship was struck; the vessel, thrown on her beam-ends, filled instantly, went down, and precipitated him into the sea. He was taken captive as he swam to shore, and brought before St. Olave, for such was the appellation with which the prince came to be honoured by the church of Rome. Haquin's manly beauty and majestic countenance, set off to a wonderful advantage by his flaxen ringlets, which were plaited in the antique fashion, and bound over his forehead with a golden chain,¹ struck the warrior for awhile with unaffected admiration, but did not beguile him of his purpose. He revealed his own descent and name; assured the youth that his course of happiness was run; and that he must no more look for liberty, unless he was prepared to vacate to him the throne, depart in distant exile, and swear never to appear in arms against him. It was a difficult alternative; but freedom to a Norse warrior was far more dear than power; he took the vow extorted from him, and departed into England, to pour out into his uncle Canute's ear the story of his wrongs.

The son of Harald meanwhile sought, by every popular art he could command, to recommend himself to the choice of the Norwegians, and to divert the enmity of Sweyn and Einar's partisans, which he knew must be bitterly provoked by his challenge of the crown. The crown was conferred upon

¹ Snorro, i. p. 400.

him ; but it was not in their nature to see it tamely borne away. They vindicated their nephew's rights in various cruel conflicts, the last and most memorable of which was fought near Nesiom. To this, King Olave, we are told, brought many warriors, who bore a golden cross upon their shields of argent, gules, or azure ; a dragon was emblazed upon his standard, and the beak of his vessel was graced with his own bust, which he had himself been at the pains to overlay with gold. The forces of Sweno were somewhat the more numerous ; but this advantage was wholly counterbalanced by the greater military experience of the king's, which consisted principally of veterans who had been his fellow-ravagers in England. The battle was fought with much of the old Norse fire and fury, but it unfortunately went against the noble Sweno. " With wrath," chanted a scald of the victorious party, " we have climbed the lofty vessels of the foe ; we have heard the clang of arms ; we have seen shields broken and swords dripping with gore. In the battle, from the plundered ships, the wounded inmates threw themselves into the deep, and the roaring billows whirled their bodies round the promontory. Of a truth, the argent-shielded heroes overcame the bearers of the ruby buckler. I saw in the strife the mournful flight of Sweno ; and the sable ravens flap their wings over the slain !" A council of war was held by the defeated generals ; they resolved to pass to Sweden, and recruit their numbers for another field : the Swedish king gave them a hospitable reception, and agreed to join them in invading Norway during the following winter. The jarl meanwhile, for his summer pastime, ravaged the shores of Gardarika ; loaded with booty, he was returning in the autumn, when he was seized with a sickness which terminated his life. He left

A.D. 1018. two daughters,—Sigrida, the wife of Aslak Erlingson; and Gunilda, who was married to Sweno Ulfson, king of Denmark. His death was an irreparable loss to Haquin; for the people of Drontheim, hearing that he was no more, sent in their universal adhesion to St. Olave, and the hopeless enterprise was accordingly abandoned. The king, when several years had passed, reconciled himself to Einar, bestowed on him the prefecture of northern Drontheim, and restored the ample lands of Bergliota's dowry.¹

Prince Haquin was, meanwhile, received by Canute with every mark of honour and affection; he felt for the injuries inflicted on the youth; he was firmly resolved to avenge them, and to vindicate his own hereditary title to the crown of Norway; but it was necessary to wait until the early popularity of Olave should be in some degree diminished. On learning at length that he had infringed the national liberties by some acts of unwarranted authority, Canute sent an embassy, demanding the king's homage, in virtue of his own hereditary right. Olave returned for answer, that whilst he breathed the air of heaven, he was resolved to hold Norway by his sword and steel alone, and to become the vassal of no earthly potentate. He did not even wait for the attack which he knew this spirited reply would draw upon him, but with ship and steed proceeded to lay waste the coasts of Denmark. King Canute, when the news was brought him, instantly equipped his fleet, gave the command of its warriors to Haquin, and set sail for Denmark. The Norwegian, at his approach, drew off his vessels towards Sweden, but was pursued and overtaken in the river Høelga, “where,” says the scald, “the howling wolf sustained him-

¹ Snorro, i. 572.

self with blood, and the generous Canute spread a banquet A.D. 1029. for the ravens." Scattering the navy of the foe before him in his course, he pursued the triumph into Norway, and landing at Drontheim, was solemnly saluted king. He there established Haquin in his former power, loaded the son and husband of Bergliota with dignities and gifts of price, and then with a light heart spread sail for England. There was a reasonable hope that the days of Haquin would now be irradiated with prosperity and peace; he followed Canute in the summer, in order to bring home a recent bride, and to celebrate again the nuptials in the midst of his new subjects. He was loaded by Canute, upon his return, with presents of every thing that was either rare in Norway, or likely to add to the splendour and comfort of his palace. But the fate of every chief of this illustrious line was destined to be wove in sable: he set sail in autumn with his lovely Thyra on the misty deep, but from that hour he was seen of men no more. His ship was said to have been remarked one evening off the northern coast of Caithness, warred on by the waves, in a distressing tempest, with the wind setting strongly in from the Zetland Firth; whence she is strongly supposed to have been driven upon the rocks or sand-banks on her lee, and to have been speedily swallowed, or absorbed by the remorseless ocean. The Shetland fisher, as he plies homeward his bark at twilight, has often rested on his oars, amidst the isles, to hear the distant mermaidens warble their melancholy dirge. And tradition, which delights to chronicle and consecrate the memory of faithful and unhappy love, declares, that when Prince Haquin "sank beneath the ocean floor," he was not borne, like his ancestors, through the wild barbaric portals of Valhalla, but was introduced by sea-nymphs into a sparry palace, where he still reclines upon a

A.D. 1029. couch of coral, and holds to his heart, in an Elysian trance, the fairest of the Anglo-Saxon maidens.

It is time, in the words of Spenser,

“ to strike our sails,

Since we be come into a quiet rode :”

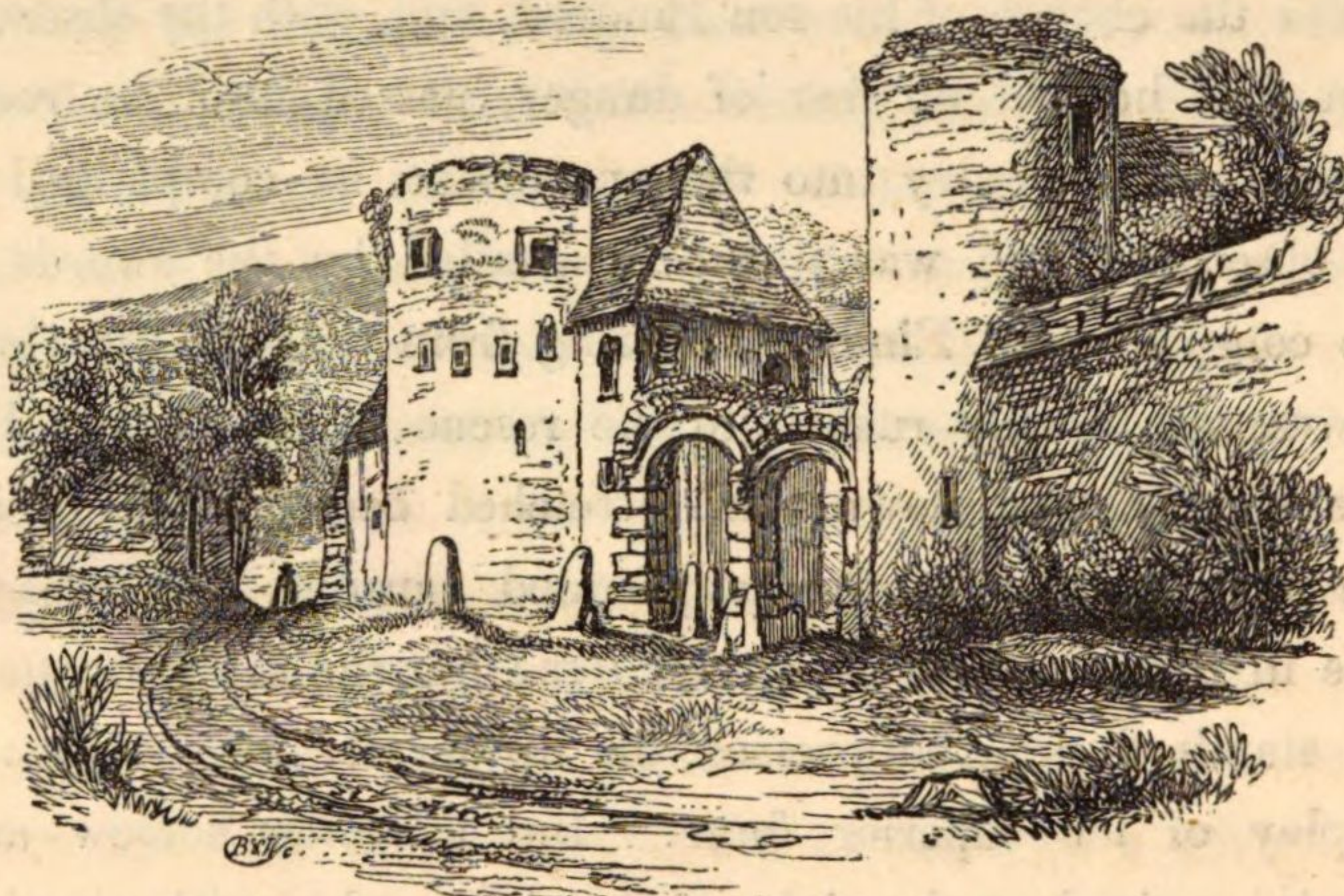
but the fate of Einar Thambaskelfur is too singularly in unison with that of the whole house of Rogvald, to be silently passed over.

A.D. 1050. Settled on his ample fiefs, and saved by the angry elements from the necessity of taking a survivor's customary vengeance for the loss of his near kinsman Haquin, Einar survived the reigns of King Canute and of Magnus, called the Good. Under Harald the Hardy, we find him noted as exceeding all the feudatories of Drontheim in dignity and wealth, as he had long enjoyed the kingly rite of levying tribute from his provinces. By the people he was infinitely honoured and beloved, as being the steady assertor of their liberties against the increasing authority of the Norwegian kings. This circumstance alone excited Harald's secret dislike; but the impassioned boldness with which he uniformly delivered his opinions in the public hall of council, where his deep knowledge of the national laws gave him the character of its presiding genius, soon deepened his dislike to anger, and fast upon the steps of anger followed harsh contention and undisguised despite. Finding this to be the case, Einar provided for his personal safety; and henceforth never moved to either town or country without being attended by a large body-guard of armed retainers. It happened that one of Einar's former serviceable vassals, with whom that connexion doubtless formed his principal offence, was accused of a robbery in the city, and the day of trial

named. Judging that, whether innocent or guilty, the culprit would be necessarily condemned, Einar gave directions to his band, who forcibly brought him out of court, and then struck off his chains. The king was deeply enraged; but he dissembled his resentment, and even consented, on the intervention of their mutual friends, to a solemn compact of reconciliation. It was agreed that the treaty should be formally settled in an upper apartment of the royal palace, which adjoined the river. Harald entered the room with only a few attendants, but left a large number in the courtyard below, and significantly ordered all the windows to be darkened. Einar also left his troops without the hall, under the charge of his son Eindred, and, with the observation that he had no fear of danger, passed into the room alone. At his entry into the apartment, he complained of its obscurity, and was instantly assailed by the swords of the conspirators. Eindred, hearing from without the clash of weapons, hastily rushed to the rescue of his father; but was soon cloven down, and stretched beside him. With the first rumour of the perpetrated murder, the citizens rose in tumult to revenge their loss; but the king advanced his standard, and suppressed the uproar for awhile by the display of his superior force. But all their sorrow and despite revived at the sight of Bergliota, who, with piercing cries of indignation and distress, sped from street to street, invoking the populace to rise for her revenge. A vast crowd of the armed inhabitants proceeded with her to the palace; but Harald and his satellites, anticipating the attack, had slipped into his vessels on the river, which soon bore them to a safe distance on the neighbouring lake, leaving to Bergliota only the melancholy satisfaction of watering the corpses of the dead with her tears. But her bitterest tears

A.D. 1050. were shed over Eindred her son; for, of a race whose personal strength and beauty had passed into a proverb, he was deemed the flower, and had already given proofs of the most engaging virtues.¹ Amidst a universal concourse of the people, their bodies were borne to the church of St. Olave, and interred in the cemetery of King Magnus. The catastrophe took place about the year 1050.

¹ Snorro, ii. 107.



Ancient Gateway of the Château of Le Rozel.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE IRRUPTION OF THE NORSEMEN INTO FRANCE TO
THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

A.D. 876-1066.

Establishment in France of Rollo and his Norsemen, 912.... Hrollagur, or Drogo, surnamed Turstain.... Hrolf Turstain.... Anslech, guardian to Richard II. Duke of Normandy, 943.... Aunsfred, surnamed the Dane, 1018.... Turstain-Goz, 1035; and Turstain de Bastembourg.... Charter of Duke Richard II., 1002.... Monastic gifts of Turstain Halduc and his family.... Tournay of Hugh de Montfort, 1036.... Barony of Briquebec.... William, surnamed Bertrand, 1045.... Robert Bertrand, 1050.... Foundation of the Priory of Beaumont-en-Auge, 1060; and of the Abbey of St. Trinité at Caen, 1066.... Hugh, Lord of Le Rozel, witness to a deed before the Conquest.... Accompanies William, Duke of Normandy, in the expedition against England.

HROLF, OR ROLLO, DUKE OF NORMANDY.

WHILST the stern Torf-Einar, having avenged in the Orkneys A.D. 876. the tragic slaughter of his father, was making his predatory cruises in the arctic seas, his exiled brother, the audacious Hrolf, or Rollo, was pursuing a yet more extensive career of rapine and renown, and realising in their widest extent the ancient prophetic fears of Charlemagne.¹ It was in the

¹ The pirates of the Baltic had begun to molest the coasts of France, so early as the year 808. Charlemagne was sitting at dinner in his city of Narbonne, when the ships of the Norsemen first came in sight. From their peculiar structure, and the adroitness of the seamen, he instantly judged that they were not merchant vessels, and went to the eastern window of the mansion to regard them more attentively. As he gazed, he wept. "I fear not," he exclaimed, "that they can injure me; but I mourn for the misery which I foresee they will bring on my descendants."

A.D. 912. year 876 that he first cast anchor in the Seine; and his course of spoliation continued, with but little intermission, for sixteen years. At the close of that period, a moving picture was presented at the court of Charles the Simple. The bishops and clergy of the empire, the counts, the barons, —in fact, all classes of his people, old and young, alive to the shame of the monarch's passive negligence, compassed his throne with cries for mercy, imploring him at length to take pity upon Christendom. "Behold," they said, "your monasteries burned, your people slaughtered, and your government abrogated by Rollo and his Norsemen! Behold their fury—mark their cruelty! From Blois to St. Liz not a rood of wheat is to be seen. The merchant can go neither to city nor to castle; the peasant dares enter neither his vineyard nor his meadow. We have already endured too much. Make peace with the invader."¹ The feeble monarch heard, and signed the treaty of St. Clair. With the hand of his daughter Gisela, the king would have added Flanders to the province which the pirate had already gained by conquest. "Flanders is too poor for me," said Rollo; "I require Bretagne." For Bretagne, therefore, and Normandy, the Norwegian did his homage; but the warrior whom the haughty conqueror selected for his proxy, performed the ceremony in a manner truly Norse. He duly placed his hand between the king's, to acknowledge the investiture; but when he was required to kiss the foot of the benign monarch, he disdained to stoop, and seized hold of the leg to lift it to his lips. By this rude salutation the rueful king was necessarily overthrown; whereat the whole company of Norsemen laughed aloud.²

¹ Roman de Rou, i. p. 91.

² Ibid. i. p. 95.

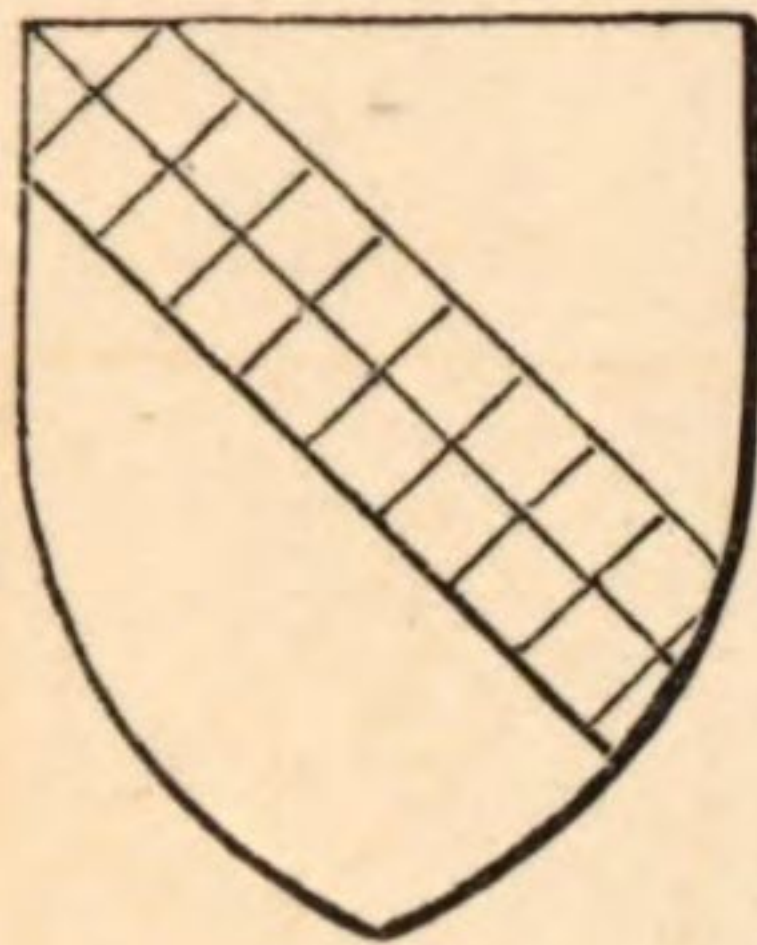
The new faith, however, which Rollo formally accepted, with the treaty of St. Clair, had its usual humanising influences on the mind and manners of the bold barbarian. From a fierce and lawless pirate, he became a wise, and, so far as the character of the age allows the appellation, a gentle and a generous prince. He civilised and enriched the provinces which he had acquired, and caused the strictest justice to be executed upon all marauders. Under his sway, the public roads, the fields, and even the forests of Normandy, became respected places, as sacred from ravage, and as safe to traverse, as the streets of Rouen or the hall of his own castle.² He farther secured the property and rights of his subjects by the formation of a judicial court, known under the name of the Échiquier—a convocation of military barons, held for the adjudication of disputes, at such times and places as he and his successors might appoint. His gifts to the Norman abbeys, during the seven days that he wore the white vestments of the neophyte, are stated to have been immense; and when, after the death of the Princess Gisela of France, he took again to live with him his repudiated bride Papia, that daughter of Count Berenger whom he had captured at the sacking of Bayeux, in 892, he espoused her at the altar with much ceremony, not merely with the view of legitimatising, in the estimation of the churchmen,

² Hunting one day in a forest near Rouen, the prince hung one of his bracelets on the branches of an oak, under which he was reposing by the side of a small lake or mere; and forgetting them when he arose to renew the chase, they remained for three years upon the bough, without any one daring to purloin them. The spot where the incident took place is still called Roumara, the mere of Rollo; and at a somewhat later period it gave name to a Norman family, distinguished by their prowess and monastic benefactions. In 1132, we find William de Roumara founding the Norman priory of Newmarch.—*Gall. Christ.* p. 822.

A.D. 912, the children she had brought him, but as a mark of his respect for all the usages prescribed by his new faith.

HROLLAGUR, OR DROGO, SURNAMED TURSTAIN.

NORMANDY.



Rollo's partition of the lands of Normandy in fief amongst his followers took place in 912,¹ the year on which the treaty of St. Clair was signed: it was accomplished by the admeasurement of a cord,² and was regulated according to the services, personal qualities, noble blood, and age of the parties to be rewarded.³ In this distribution, the greater part of La Manche was divided between three great proprietors; the Avrenchin, or southern district around Avranches, to the Baron of Mortain; the Cotentin, or central region round Coutances, to Rioulf, who built his castle at St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte; and the north, around Briquebec, to that "superior chieftain of the army that had conquered Normandy,"⁴ whom the annalist of the house of Toustain-Frontebosc regards as Drogo, or, as he is sometimes called, Dru of Normandy, "the son of Rollo." The terms upon which the fief of Briquebec was conceded, were doubtless similar to those attached to the barony of St. Sauveur, which, by the deed of gift, signed in the year 912, was conferred under the title of an honorary grant, with the obligation of homage and military service to the duke.⁵ But it is impossible to conceive how this superior chieftain, who had taken an active part in the conquest of the province, could be the *son* of Rollo and Papia, when their union and the sack of Bayeux, which was the termination of his conquests in Neustria, took

¹ Dudo de St. Quentin in Duchesne, p. 85.

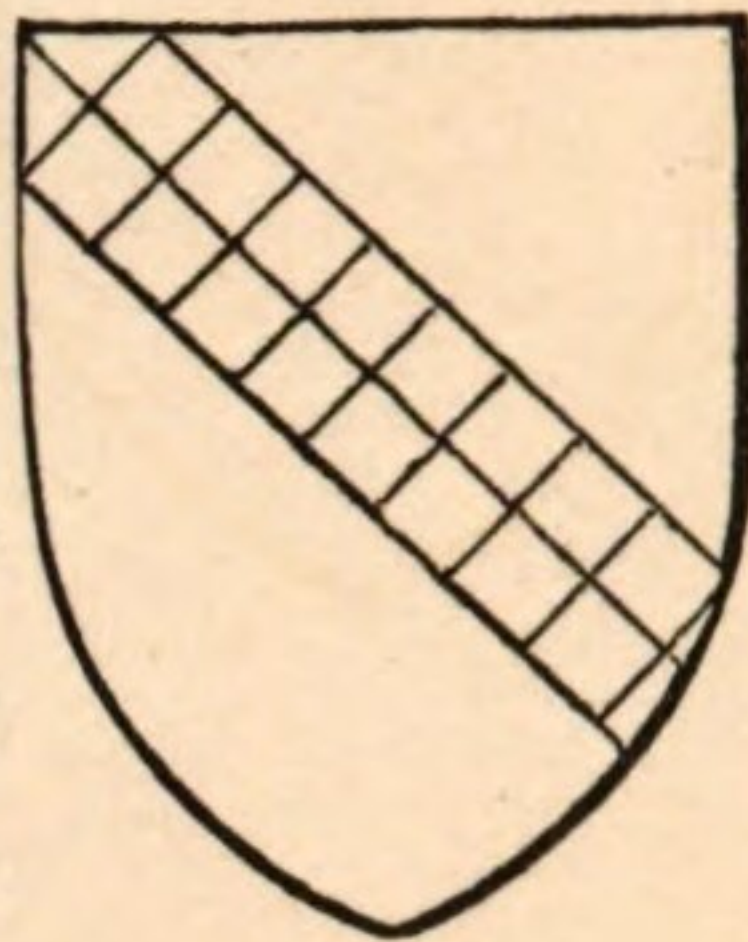
² Id.

³ Roman de Rou, i. p. 97. ⁴ De Gerv. Mém. des Ant. de Norm. i. p. 247.

⁵ Carta, per inspec. M. de Gerville. Id. p. 106.

place in one and the same year, 892,¹ and when no accredited A.D. 912. historian gives to Rollo any other son than William Longsword. It is infinitely more probable that Drogo—the name being merely softened by its passage from Norway into France—was the same personage as Hrollagur, whom the Icelandic writers represent as a son of Rogvald by a favourite domestic,² wedded “after the custom of the Danes,”—the brother, consequently, of Duke Rollo. And here it is worthy of peculiar remark, that the arms first borne by the dukes of Normandy and those of Hrollagur’s descendants were precisely similar, except in tincture; for whilst the former at first bore *gules*, a bend of two pieces, chequy *argent* and *azure*, the Turstains bore their bend on a field *or*, in chequy of *or* and *azure*.³

TURSTAIN.



The descendants of that branch of the Scandinavian nobility to which Rognevald belonged, are frequently spoken of by the early chroniclers as being of the Thorian or Thorstingian race⁴—terms derived from their assumed descent from Thor, the son of Odin. Drogo, seeing the legitimacy of Papia’s children questioned during the lifetime of the Princess Gisela, and considering perhaps his own extraction equally liable to the censures of the churchmen, is stated to have fallen back, notwithstanding his baptismal vow, upon the immemorial dignity of his Runic ancestry, and to have taken the name, or the surname, of Turstain.⁵ By his wife Ermina, he left a son, named Hrolf, or Robert,⁶ after the Norman appellation of his uncle Rollo.

¹ L’Art de vérifier les Dates, t. ii. p. 828.

² Torfei Orcades, p. 18.

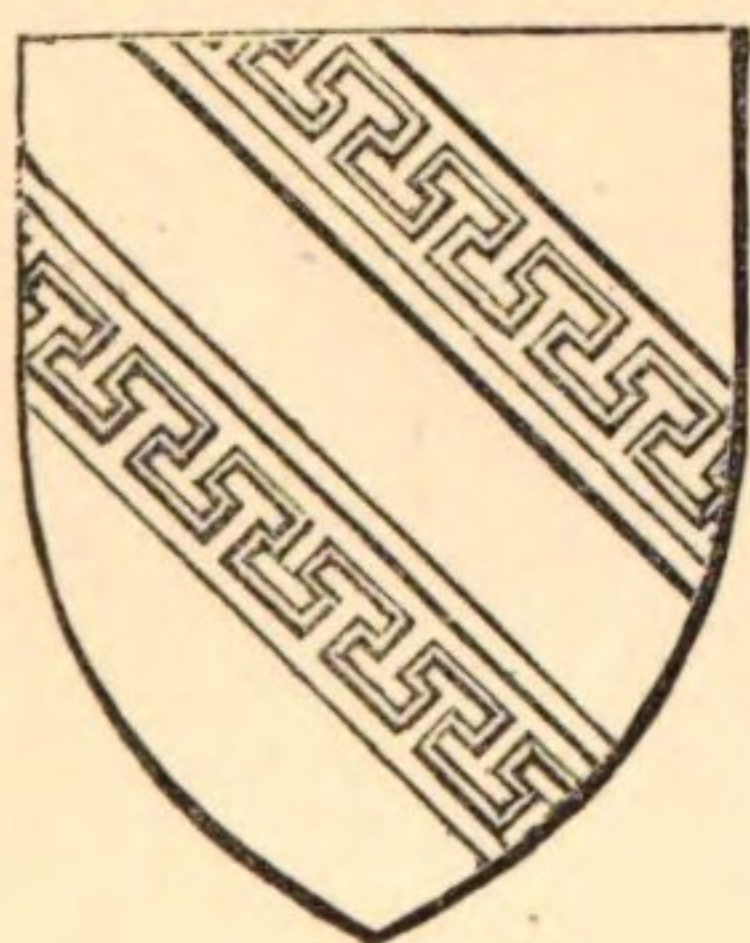
³ M. T. Richebourg: and Desbois, *Dict. de la Noblesse*, mot Toustain.

^{4 5 6} M. Toustain-Richebourg. *Fam. de Toust. Frontebosc*, p. 27.

ROBERT TURSTAIN.

A.D. 940. Robert Turstain is said to have made a voyage, at this early period, to the Holy Land, with several of his kindred ; and there repulsing, with his military retainers, a considerable troop of infidels, to have taken, in allusion to his name and the tinct of his destroying sword, the war-cry "TOUS TEINCTS DE SANG !" which was used by his descendants.¹ But as pilgrimages to Jerusalem were rarely undertaken by the nobility of Western Europe until the latter part of the tenth century, the incident must have occurred to a different individual of the family. With much greater probability, he may be identified as the potent baron, "vir nobilis et præpotens Torstingus," who, in 960, gave certain lands to the Abbey of St. Wandrille, or Fontanelle,² which Duke Richard I. sanctioned and confirmed.³ The particulars of this grant may perhaps be gathered from the recital of a charter of Duke William, confirming to the abbey "the second part of the tithe of Turstain's land—Esquetot, near Bann, its church and appurtenances, the tithe of the toll of Bann, the mills of Bann and Vauville, the churches and tithes of Flamanville and Calonville, and Cristot, with its lodging-houses.⁴ By Gerlotte his wife, daughter of Theobald, count of Blois and Chartres,⁵ Robert Turstain was the father of three distinguished sons—Anslech, baron of Briquebec ; Onfroi, surnamed the Dane, in memory of his northern origin ; and William, ancestor of the Lords of Bec Crespin ;⁶ all of whose signatures are stated to appear in a charter of the year 990 to the Abbey of Mont St. Michel.⁷

BLOIS & CHARTRES.

¹ M. T. Richebourg, p. 30.² Mabillon, *Annal. Ben.* an 960.³ Neustria Pia, pp. 162, 3.⁴ Id. p. 167.⁵ Arms, *azure*, a bend *arg.* coticed potencé contrepotencé, *or*.^{6,7} M. Turstain-Richebourg, pp. 29, 31.

ANSLECH OF BRIQUEBEC.

In the rebellion of Rioulf of St. Sauveur against William A.D. 947. Longsword, in the year 933, Anslech, the baron of Briquebec, is mentioned by Wace as one of the three barons who alone remained faithful to the duke, by rendering him military service at the siege of Rouen.¹ In the conflict that ensued, William had but three hundred lances on his side, part borne by squires and part by burghers; but he fought "like an enraged bull," and Rioulf was defeated, escaping through a wood.² It was on his return from victory that William received tidings of the birth of his son Richard. This prince was but ten years old when his father was assassinated, in a little island of the Seine, by the treachery of the same Rioulf, and Ernolf, count of Flanders. The barons of Bretagne and Normandy, being immediately convoked in Échiquier by Bernard the Dane, lord of Harcourt, proceeded to appoint a council of regency; and the tutelage of the young duke and the administration of the duchy were committed, by unanimous consent, to the three Barons of Briquebec, Harcourt, and La Roche Tesson, and the Seigneur of Centvilles. To conduct the government of Normandy during this minority, exposed as the duchy was to the open attacks and secret intrigues of the most powerful and jealous enemies, required a rare union of courage, firmness, and discretion; but the parties approved themselves fully equal to the emergency. It was but a few days after this appointment, so honourable to Anslech of Briquebec, that Louis of France

¹ HANLEK fu o Willame, è Bernart li Daneiz,
E Boton de Baex, Quens des Bessineiz;
Des Barons de sa terre n'out li Dus ke cest troiz.

Roman de Rou, i. p. 109.

² Id. p. 112.

A.D. 947. came to Rouen, ostensibly to claim the homage, but in reality to possess himself of the person of the young prince, as a preparatory step to the recovery of Normandy. The declaration of his desire to superintend the education of their noble ward was not received by Anslech and the other guardians without jealousy, nor by the people without alarm and a temporary insurrection. But the specious king, at this crisis, appearing at the palace window with the young duke in his arms, and engaging, by all the saints in heaven, to restore the youth in safety when he had given him an education suited to his dignity, their apprehensions were quieted, and he was permitted to depart with his noble charge. Arrived at Laon, the mask of dissimulation was thrown by. At the eager persuasions of Count Ernolf, who seconded the criminal request by a large gift of gold, young Richard was seized as he one day returned from hawking, and committed into strict captivity. Fortunately, however, the indignity was not of long duration. Osmond de Centvilles had accompanied the prince to Laon. By his instructions, the youth counterfeited sickness, and played the part of an invalid so well, that his guards, thinking him reduced to the last extremity, relaxed the vigilance of their watch. Disguised as a varlet, Osmond gained access to his cell whilst the court was at the evening banquet. He enveloped the boy in a bundle of straw, which he threw upon his shoulder as a heap of forage, bore him unsuspected through the city gates, and there mounting both upon swift horses, deposited his ward safely with the Chatelain of Coucy, till Count Bernard, his maternal uncle, could escort him to his city of Senlis.

The ingenuity of Osmond, in setting the prince free, was equalled by the address of Anslech and the Lord of Harcourt,

in guarding the duchy from all ill consequences of the deed. A.D. 956. Adroitly sowing discord, on the one hand, between Louis and Hugh the Great, whom the monarch now allured to join him in an invasion of the province; and inducing Harold, king of Denmark, on the other, to enter the Dive with a fleet well manned with the chivalry of the Avrenchin and Coutances, the vale of Mortain and Cinglais, they frustrated all the monarch's schemes, and, by a singular visitation of retributive justice, subjected Louis himself to a deserved captivity. They detained him a prisoner till he was ransomed by Count Hugh; when, by a second treaty at St. Clair, the security of Normandy was guaranteed, with an extension of territory, and a formal acquittance from all service to the crown of France but that of simple homage. Thus, at the close of his minority, in 956, the Duke Richard found his provinces flourishing and his power respected: with his dying breath Hugh the Great intrusted his son to his protection; and Emma, the count's daughter, bestowing her hand on him a few years after, consummated his happiness.

According to the opinion of an eminent Norman antiquary, it was in the time of Anslech, certainly not later, that the castle of Briquebec, which yet presents, with its moated towers and lofty ivied donjon, one of the most beautiful and picturesque ruins of La Manche, was first erected;¹ as the military service which the baron's vassals were compelled to pay there, corresponds, in its severe and obsequious character, with what is known to have been generally imposed under Duke Richard the First—an abasement that, in the early part of the reign of his successor, was the cause

¹ M. de Gerville. MSS. observations.

A.D. 996. of a formidable insurrection.¹ From the ancient title-deeds of the barony, it appears that its vassals, however noble, or nearly allied to the possessor, were obliged, in succession, to maintain watch and ward, by night and by day, in peace and in war, at the gates of Briquebec Castle; to follow their lord to the chase, whenever it was his pleasure to summon them, and, in addition, to present themselves twice or thrice a year before him, to receive his farther orders.²

Duke Richard the Fearless dying in the year 996, was succeeded by his son Richard, surnamed the Good. It was by this prince that Onfrey, or Aunsfred, the brother of Anslech, was, in 1016, invested with the county of Exmes, an extensive district, overrun with wood, and, in consequence, frequently resorted to by the early dukes of Normandy for the pleasures of the chase.³ His son Turstain, surnamed Goz, from his patrimonial domain, under the style of Turstain the Viscount, signed, in the palace of Feschamp, in 1026, Duke Richard's confirmation-charter to the Abbey of Bernay.⁴ Recommended by his courtesy and wisdom to

¹ For the curious particulars of this servile tumult, vide *Rom. de Rou*, i. p. 303.

² M. de Gerville: Notes from the archives of the barony.

³ It was on his return from hunting there, that Duke Robert the Liberal became enamoured of Arlette; and tradition, which loves to identify itself with every spot where remarkable incidents take place, still points out a window in the castle of Falaise, whence his eye for the first time fell upon the rustic beauty, as she washed linen at the pool below. The pool also remains; its waters are supplied by one of the many noble fountains built by the same duke, which decorate the city, and justify his surname of the Liberal. When I visited the interior upper apartment of the castle, in 1826, a busy group of the girls of Falaise, in their high caps and many-hued costume, were to be seen at the same pool in the valley, at the same occupation; and with so many objects of antiquity around, it was the easiest thing imaginable to forget that eight hundred years had passed over the picture: there was nothing to disturb the illusion but the roofless walls and the ivy that tapestried them.

⁴ *Neustria Pia*, p. 399.

the peculiar favour of the Duchess Gonnor, he was ap- A.D. 1041.
 pointed chamberlain to her son, Duke Robert the Liberal,
 whom he accompanied in that capacity upon his pilgrimage
 to the Holy Land, in 1035; and when the prince fell ill
 at Nice, was charged to convey his last wishes to the barons
 of Normandy, and to the abbey of Cerisy the various pre-
 cious shrines and relics which Turstain had the previous
 year brought him from the Patriarch of Jerusalem.¹ After
 the fulfilment of this mission, his noble birth, the confidential
 station he had filled, and the services he had rendered to
 Duke Robert, strongly recommended him to the barons who
 were appointed to direct the affairs of the duchy during the
 minority of the young Duke William. They confirmed him
 in possession of the county of Exmes, and made him Vis-
 count of Argentan and Governor of the Castle of Falaise;
 but in the invasion of Henry of France, who, in 1041, entered
 Normandy, burning Argentan and laying waste the Exmois,
 the son of Aunsfred engaged to deliver up to him this castle,
 on condition that the king would continue to him his digni-
 ties and lands. The treacherous agreement cost him dear;
 for Raoul de Vassy, regent of Normandy, being apprised
 of the intrigue, marched instantly against him, and laid
 siege to the fortress. Had it been in a proper state of de-
 fence, the count might have smiled at the assault of the
 military engines; for, built upon high crags that domineer

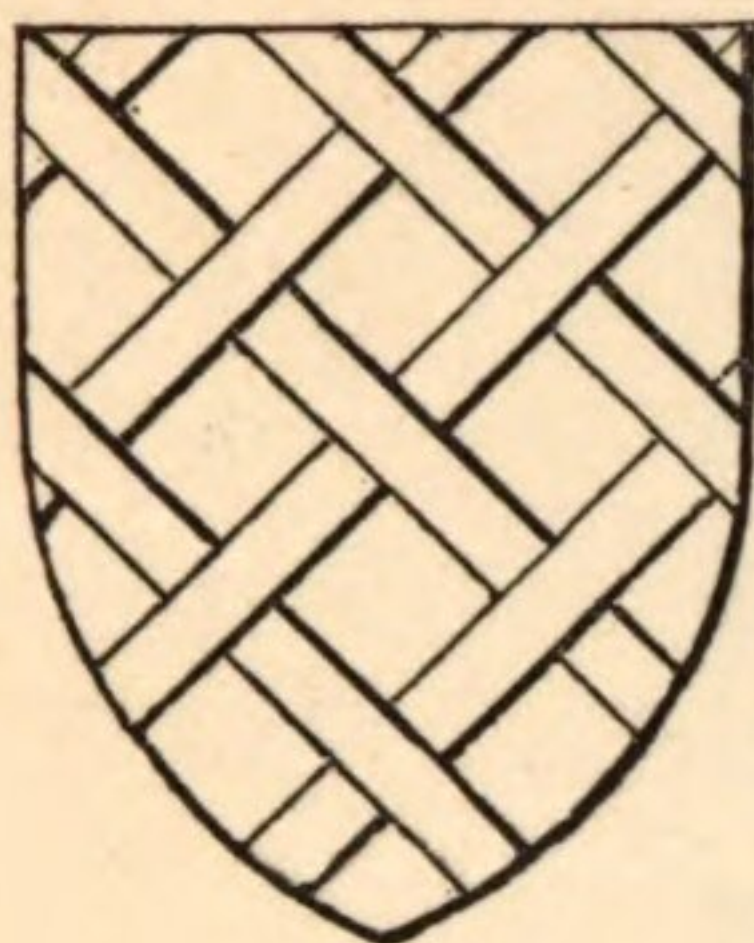
¹ A Tosteins ki fu chambrelens,
 De sa chambre mestre gardeins,
 Ki par sa mere fu tant amez;
 Pur ço k'il fu curteis è senez,
 Li livra li-Dus li cors sains,
 E relikes k'il aveit ainz

En Jerusalem purchaciées.
 Par Tosteins les ad envéiées
 A Ceresie, une abéie
 K'il aveit fete en Normendie,
 Entre Costentin è Baieues;
 De Saint-Lo i cuntent treis lieues.

Roman de Rou, i. p. 414.

A.D. 1041. over the town, with an entire valley for its moat,¹ strengthened at all points with ramparts that had rolled back many a former attack, and communicating with the town by secret subterranean caverns, that gave every facility to the besieged of egress and ingress, the castle of Falaise was justly regarded as the strongest in all Normandy. Turstain-Goz had not, however, time to fortify it fully before it was invested ; and a breach having been made, he soon capitulated, on condition that himself and his men-at-arms might march out in military array. He was exiled, and his estates con-

MONTEROLLIERS.



HUGH LUPUS.



fiscated, his land of Goz being given in dowry to the celebrated Arlette, on her marriage with Herlouin de Conteville. This disgrace, however, was not of long continuance ; for at the solicitation of Richard d'Avranches, his son by the Lady Judith de Monterolliers, a faithful partisan of the young duke, he was, a few years afterwards, recalled from banishment, and restored to the principal part of his estates. Of Richard, viscount of Avranches, it may be sufficient to remark, that by the Lady Emmeline de Mortagne he was father of Hugh Lupus, so denominated from the wolf's head *proper* which he bore upon his *azure* shield, the well-known ancestor of the earls of Chester, in England.²

¹ Within this greensward moat I saw still lying one of the identical balls or rounded rocks of granite, three or four feet in diameter, which were shot against the walls by the military engines of our Henry the Fifth, in the siege of 1418. "La quantité," says the Abbé Langevin (*Recherches Hist. sur Falaise*, p. 361)—"la quantité de bombardes (*ou roches arrondies*) que les Anglois y jetèrent, comme ils avaient fait à Caen, et encore plus le défaut de vivres, obligèrent la ville à se rendre, le 15 de Janvier, 1418." It is rather extraordinary that no French antiquary has possessed himself of this curious relic of past ages. Much as I desired it, the vast weight of the mass prevented my bringing it away.

² The connexion of the earls of Chester with individuals of the Rozel family, in consequence of their collateral relationship, may be occasionally traced through several generations, down to the reign in England of King John.

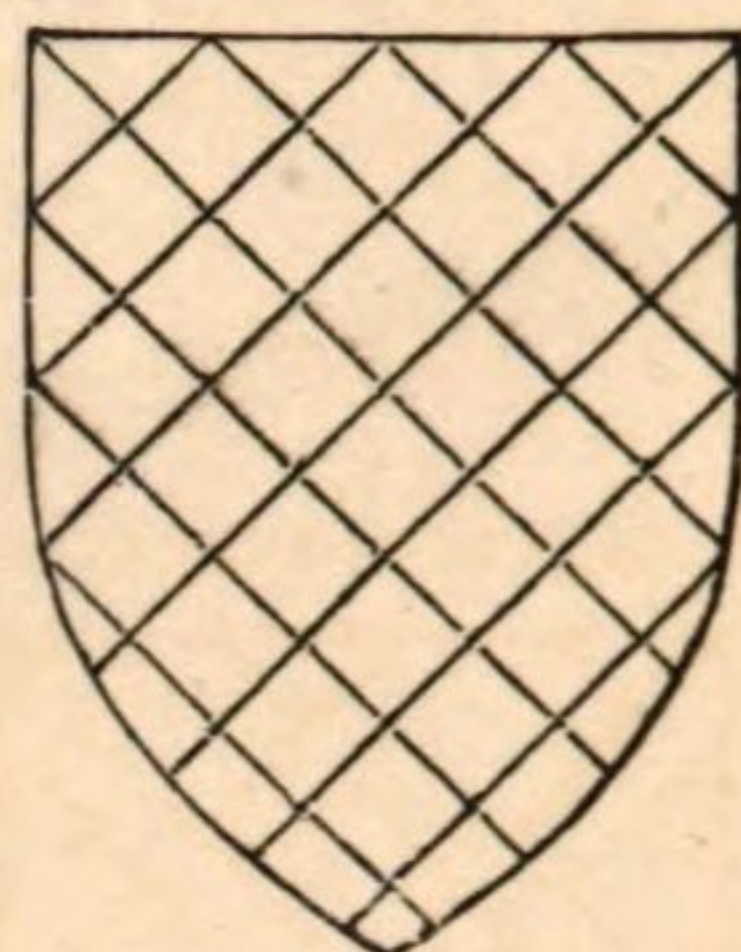
TURSTAIN DE BASTEMBOURG.

Anslech, baron of Briquebec, lived to witness the accession of Duke Richard II. At his death he left two sons ;

1. Turstain, baron of Briquebec, lord of Bastembourg ;¹
2. Richard, denominated more generally Turstain Haralduc, or Halduc ;² and a daughter, Ertemburga, who was married, in 955, to Torf de Harcourt, the son of Bernard the Dane,³ and who became the ancestress of the Harcourt family in England.⁴ The influences of Christianity, and a more genial climate, had by this time greatly softened down the rugged fierceness of the Scandinavian character ; and in the progress of a century, the descendants of the first adventurers, by mingling with the Franks, had entirely imbibed the manners, gallantry, devotion, and even the language of that ardent people. The Norse tongue might still be spoken at Bayeux, but it was forgotten at Rouen, in the court and capital.⁵ With the ceremonial religion, the popular superstitions of the people amongst whom they were established came naturally to be embraced ; and, apart from the fancied spiritual advantage, the novelty and danger promised by religious expeditions now allured the Normans to make frequent pilgrimages to the hermitages of Italy, as well as to the Holy Land. In one of these visits to the cavern of Mount Gargarus, in the year 1016, a small confederated band of forty knights were induced to undertake the conquest of Apulia. In the following year, under the pretext of pilgrimage, there went across the Alps, by various tracks, on this adventure, a small but brave band of two hundred

Circa
A.D. 1000.

HARCOURT.



¹ Duchesne, *Scrip. Norm.* p. 289. ² M. de Toustain-Richebourg, p. 32.

³ La Roque ; *Maison de Harcourt. Arms, Lozengy or and gules.*

⁴ Vide Collins's *Peerage*, vol. iv. p. 428. ⁵ Ordericus Vitalis.

A.D. 1016. and fifty knights, who were taken into the pay of Waimar, prince of Salerno. The captain of this little band was Turstain Scitel. If not the same personage as Turstain de Bastembourg, he was probably of the same stem; and the incident that is gravely recorded of him by the monk of Jumieges, may shew, together with his character for prowess, the early credence attached to each romantic legend brought from foreign countries. Whilst the Normans in the pay of Waimar were traversing a mountain tract, they observed a goat just seized on by a lion. Turstain, ambitious of distinction, attacked the lion with his sword, and set the victim free. Being himself then exposed to the rage of the disappointed animal, he grasped the lion strongly in his arms, and bearing it out of the ravine, threw it to a distance, with the ease that a hunter would use towards his hound. The Lombards, with whom this excess of strength and courage excited greater envy than admiration, resolved in secret on his death. They conducted him to a dell where an enormous serpent had been seen, and which was the customary lair of other savage creatures. When the traitors heard the rustling of the serpent, they dispersed, without apprising Turstain of his danger. Their flight at first surprised him, till he saw the monster approaching in an attitude of menace; he rushed upon it with his sword, and by repeated blows succeeded in despatching it, after his buckler had been entirely consumed by the fire proceeding from its jaws. He is stated, however, to have enjoyed his triumph but a few days, being fatally infected with the poison of its breath. The good monk, in expressing his admiration of the tale,¹ seems well persuaded of its truth.

¹ Will. Gemmet. in Duchesne, p. 284.

The treachery of the Lombards was avenged by the chiefs A.D. 1016. whom the Normans next elected; and under the sway of their successors the power of that people became consolidated in Italy.

The few particulars transmitted by any other historian of Turstain de Bastembourg, favours the supposition of his being engaged on these or similar foreign expeditions. Much more is known of his brother, Turstain Halduc. He was baron of Haie-de-Puits, and married Emma, a sister or near relative of the Duke of Normandy. He was witness, in 1024, to a charter of Duke Robert to the abbey of Fontanelle;¹ and, in 1042, to another of Duke William, who, having completed the abbey of Cerisy, which his father had begun, now, upon its consecration, bestowed on it additional immunities and lands. Turstain Halduc himself proved a munificent benefactor to the same and similar foundations, giving by charter to the monks of Cerisy, of the dowry which his Lady Emma brought him, whatever he possessed in Marsarey, Vale-Corday, and Floriney, with all his seignorial rights there, a brine-pool at Creance, sufficient wood from his groves for the fire of the salt-kiln, and the land, with its customs, occupied by Dru his clerk;² Duke William, as lord paramount, sanctioning the grant. As Lord of Anisy, he also gave, with the assent of his son Eudo, and of Ralph-le-Vicomte, the superior lord of the see,—who had one palfrey from the abbot in reversion for his dues,—the land of one villein in Buscherville.³ And, in 1064, “considering that the things which are seen are temporal, and that it is only those which are unseen that are eternal, to pass from the visible to the invisible world,

¹ Dug. Mon. 1st ed. ii. p. 1006. ²³ Dug. Mon. new ed. vi. pp. 1073-4.

A.D. 1030. and from the shadows of time to the realities of eternity," he, with the assent of Emma his lady, and his son Eudo, founded the abbey of Lessay, appropriating various lands and revenues to its use with a princely liberality. It was completed and farther endowed by his son Eudo *cum Capello*;¹ who gave also the priory of Beauté to the abbey of St. Stephen at Caen, was Seneschal of Normandy in 1064, signed, in 1092, a charter to the priory of Bonnes Nouvelles, and dying in 1098, was interred in his abbey of Lessay, in the middle of the choir. To the time of the French Revolution, his effigies were to be seen upon his tomb, his head invested with a mantle, in which, according to tradition, he used to officiate at the sacred ceremonies. And in perpetuation of this custom, and of the memory of their benefactor, it was, till that period, an usage for a secular vassal of the abbot's, crowned with flowers, bearing a wreath of flowers in his right hand, and shaking in his

¹ Their charter is given in Dugdale, new ed. vol. vi., and comprises the following extensive grants:—All that they possessed in the town of St. Opportune, where the priory stood, in Osville and Wareville; all maisnails at Urville, Apville, Mainville, their churches, woods, fisheries, waters, mills, and brine-pits: the entire alms, tithes, and patronage of nine churches; their part in the alms and tithe of five more; six carucates of land in various places; six acres in the marsh of Cressoneres; the wood of Canilly, with its land, its mills, and waters; a fishery at Unna, near Hulme; at Creance, a vavasour, two carucates, three salt-pits, and a fishery in the sea; two sheep-folds, two suburbans with their fiefs, and 60*s.* toll; much of the manor of Cerency, except their homagers; in the vill of Familières all that was the portion of Adelaide Turstain, lady of Balta; the tithe of the land near and beyond their park; pannage, cartage, and hunting, in the forest of Plessis, and all other advantages that they might find there, then or in future, from mills, fisheries, rents, &c., pasture and pannage beyond the park for all the abbey swine and the animals of their servants; if the swine were desired to be sent within the park, pannage for 100 hogs from Michaelmas to Quadregesima: and if not sent there, pannage for 50 during the same time in the wood of Folilea beyond the park, with all their necessary fire-wood from the same quarter.

left a silver bell, to enter the abbey church at the first and second vespers, wrapped in a white mantle, and to take his seat in the centre of the choir.¹ A.D. 1030.

Besides this son, who ranked amongst the richest and noblest barons of La Manche, Turstain Halduc had issue, Yvo, the father of Robert, Ralph, and Richard de Haye, baron of Haye-de-Puits, connétable and grand chamberlain of the King of England, ancestor of the Du Hommets; Foulq, who signed, in 1092, a charter to the abbey of Bec;² and two illustrious daughters,—Emma, the wife of William Fitz-Giroye, cited by Ordericus the monk as a paragon of generosity and virtue; and Adelaide, lady of Balta, who became after marriage a nun in the abbey of St. Trinity at Caen; and when she took the veil, devoted to that endowment all the possessions she had received as a marriage portion from her father.³ Turstain Halduc lies interred in the abbey of Lessay; the time of his death is, however, unknown. He varied his family coat-of-arms by adding to the band chequy seven cross-crosslets; as, before the French Revolution, might be seen upon his seal in the abbey of Lessay, but the colour of the crosslets was rendered undistinguishable by age.⁴

WILLIAM BERTRAND.

To recur to the main stem; Turstain de Bastembourg left issue: 1. William, baron of Briquebec; 2. Hugh cum Barbâ, so denominated from wearing his beard unshorn, which was not the regular practice of the Normans; and a daughter,

¹ Gallia Christiana, p. 917.

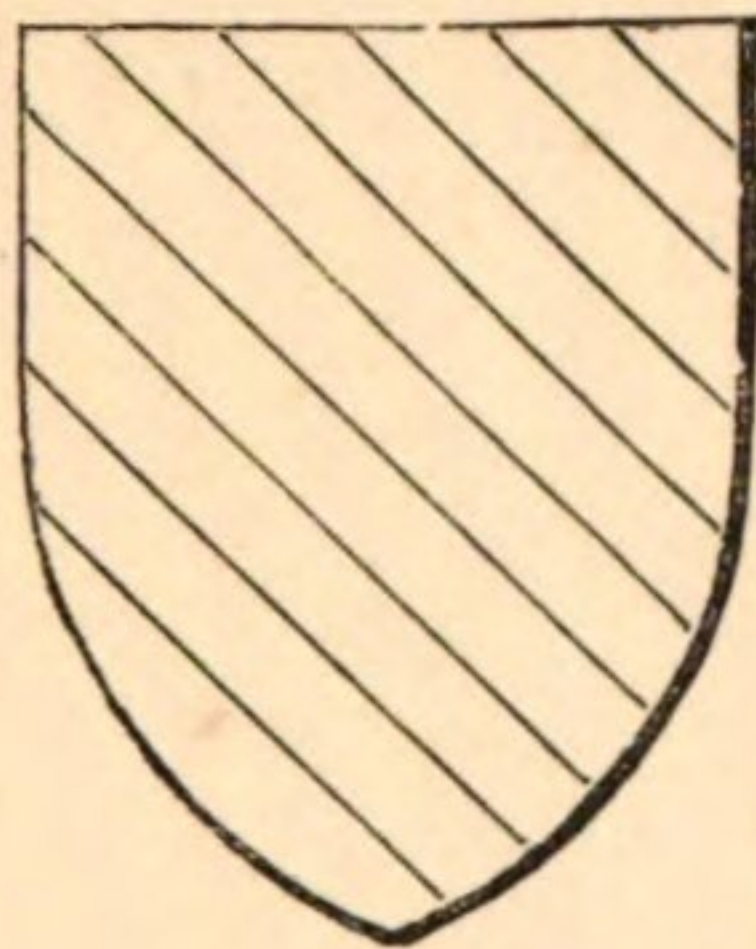
² ⁴ Toustain de Richebourg, p. 32.

³ Gall. Christ. p. 60, *Instrumenta*.

A.D. 1036. Gisela, who, during the government of Duke Richard II., engaged the affections of Giroye, lord of Montreuil and Echauffour, and became the mother of seven sons and four daughters, whence issued, says Ordericus, a race of hardy knights, who became the terror of the barbarians in Apulia, Syria, and Thrace. The name of William Bertrand occurs in the year 1023 to a charter of Duke Richard II., confirming to the abbey of Mount St. Michael, on the occasion of its being rebuilt, after a destruction by fire, all the deeds and privileges granted by his predecessors, and especially those of the Duchess Gunnora, his mother. In this document he is styled William, the son of Turstain; and his name is followed by that of "Hugh his brother," and their kinsman "Richard the Viscount" (of Avranches), as witnesses, with others, to the deed.¹

2. Hugh Turstain the Bearded, about the year 1030, obtained, in marriage with the Lady Barbe de Montfort,² the town and territory of Montfort, in Upper Normandy, situated upon the little river Risle. He changed his paternal coat of arms for a shield, bearing Bendy *or* and *azure*; and after becoming the parent of two daughters and a son, a feud with Vauqueline de Ferrers, in 1036, terminated his existence. The rival barons, meeting in combat, perished by each other's hands; and such was the hatred with which the feud was followed up by their respective partisans, that after a few years scarcely one was found surviving to bewail his chieftain's fall.³

HUGH TURSTAIN.



¹ Morice: *Hist. de Bretagne*, i. p. 450.

² Arms, *gules* a saltire *or*.

³ The fatal event is thus celebrated by Wace, in illustration of the distractions that afflicted Normandy when the young Duke William came to the duchy:—

Summers eight had Robert numbered since he first possessed his fee;
Great grief had his son Childe William, though but then in his infancy;

This dissension, fatal as it proved, was but one of the A.D. 1036. numbers that occurred during the minority of William; his very court was the scene of frequent tragedy, and three of his tutors fell successively beneath the daggers of assassins. The secret instigator of all these deeds of violence was the potent Raoul de Tosny; who, deriving his lineage from Huldreich, Rollo's uncle, thought it shame for Normandy to pass under the sceptre of a boy, and that boy the fruit of an illicit union. His intrigues were only terminated, after several years of rapine and revolt, by his fall in battle. His blood

Many a foe he had to soften, many a froward knight to quell;
 Those who had his fathers cherished, he found rancorous, proud, and fell;
 Baron wildly warred with baron, and the strong the weak oppressed;
 None would yield a scruple to him,—passing few could be redressed.
 Towns they burnt and hamlets pillaged, villeins took and serfs despoiled,
 And did ill in various guises till all Normandy was embroiled.
 Each fortalices built and castles, ev'n as treasure gave him power,
 And raised forays, tumults, battles, each from out his haunted tower.
 Great were the melées and feuds, which grew thus from the lawless glaive;
 Many a fierce achievement did they, many a deadly challenge gave.
 Thus 'twixt Vulqueline de Ferrières and 'twixt Montfort's sire, Count Hugh,—
 Which was right, which wrong, I ken not,—fell and fatal quarrel grew.
 They could have nor peace nor friendship, they could have no fair accord,
 Nor by cross of holy bishop, nor by frown of sovran lord.
 Both were chevaliers of prowess, both were proud and full of fire,
 At one moment they encountered, mad with fury, wild with ire.
 Which of them did best I trow not, nor which first his foeman slew,
 But this was the end o' the tourney, dead fell Vauqueline, dead fell Hugh.¹

His son Hugh, after accompanying Duke William to the conquest, was rewarded with upwards of twenty manors in Kent; he afterwards became a monk in the abbey of Bec,² leaving issue,

1. A d. of Richard de Bellefeuille. = Hugh de Montfort = a 2d wife.

Hugh, 4th Lord of Montfort. = Adeline, d. Robert E. Mellent.

Hugh, 3d Lord of Montfort: Robert, died without issue. do.

Robert, 5th Lord, temp. W. Ruf. and H. I. = Adeline de Bretueil: no issue.

¹ "Wit anz aveit Robert veskus," &c.—*Roman de Rou*, ii. p. 1.

² Willelm. Gemet. p. 289.

A.D. 1047. extinguished not the flame which he had kindled; and scarcely a year passed without bringing danger to the youthful duke, till the signal victory which he gained at Val des Dunes, in 1047, over the potent lords of Briosne and Torigny, Renauld, viscount of Bayeux, Nigel of St. Sauveur, and Grimoult, lord of Plessis. The personal adventures of William, in escaping by night from these conspirators, alone and almost naked, and the military skill and vigour which, though hardly yet sixteen, he displayed in their utter overthrow, commend him strongly to our interest, even at this early period of his fortunes.

Upon the part which William, baron of Briquebec, took in this quarrel, the chroniclers are silent. On the one hand, his domains bordered upon those of Nigel, "who held," they say, "the whole Cotentin in such check, that no one durst shew his affection for the duke;" but as, on the other, the confiscation of estates which followed the defection of the Baron of St. Sauveur extended not to those of Briquebec, we may conclude that he espoused the cause of the young duke. He must, at all events, have been able to take, in all matters where the Baron of St. Sauveur was concerned, an attitude of perfect independence. For, whilst the latter, with the style of Viscount, held the first rank amongst the nobility of Lower Normandy, exercising there the authority of vicerent when the dukes of Normandy were either dead or absent, the Bertrands of Briquebec, with a territory nearly as extensive, enjoyed the title of first Banneret, and the fourth seat and voice in the national échiquier.

Their domains formed a barony entire, with its own high, mesne, and petty courts of justice. It extended at this period, with a few insulated exceptions, from Cherbourg westward to the Atlantic, and southward to the barony of

Haie-de-Puits, which, before the time of Turstain Halduc, A.D. 1060. it may also have included in its compass. It comprised the various fiefs of Barneville and Magneville, La Haulle, Senoville and Vauville, Orglandres and Guernetot. And besides these seignories in La Manche, the fiefs of Bloville, St. Aubin, Tilly d'Orceau, Belval, and Fontenay, near Caen, were held of the Baron of Briquebec, and their lords came to him for justice, in cases of difference or dispute.¹

William, baron of Briquebec, was the first that took the surname of Bertrand, and with it the shield of arms, bearing *or* a lion rampant *vert*, langued and unguled *gules*, crowned *argent*.² He had issue three sons, Robert, Hugh, and William, and a daughter Emma, who was married to the Count of Montchenseye.

BERTRAND.



1. ROBERT BERTRAND.

1. Robert Bertrand, who is surnamed Le Tort in the "Roman de Rou," from his lameness, or some other personal defect, succeeded to the barony, and, about the year 1060, with his wife Susanna, founded the priory of Beaumont-en-Auge, in Upper Normandy, as a cell of St. Audoen of Rouen, and dedicated it to the Virgin. The grant of lands, &c. which he made in support of this foundation, bespeaks the extent of his possessions and the munificence of his disposition; for by his charter he conceded the churches of St. Mary de Beaumont, Tilly, and St. George de Ficquefleur; those of St. George de Pennay, St. Mary des Vieux-Herbert, and St. Clodoale de Turgeville; the churches

¹ De Gerville; MS. Notes from the archives of the Barony.

² La Roque; Mais. de Harcourt.

A.D. 1060. of Magneville, St. Mary d'Outretot, and Pierre de Surtainville, with thirty acres to each; two sheaves of the tithe of Briquebec, and thirty acres there; two parts respectively of the tithes of St. Regnobert de Fouguermou, St. John de Barneville, and St. Philbert des Champs; four pounds in St. Stephen de Honfleur; the entire tithe of all his forests, of Noiroilles, Roths, Bretteville (near Haie-de-Puits), and Buscherville; the tithe of Bonnebosc, and of the markets of Venoix; a tan-mill at Briquebec; and permission to have two horses in the woods of Tilly, to draw what wood the monks had need of, besides a beech tree at the four principal feasts of the year, Easter, Christmas, Pentecost, and the Assumption.¹ To administer these gifts, the monks afterwards established a cell at Briquebec itself: but it is to be surmised that the founders, in their charter, made no mention of their son's assent to these various donations, as they were all reclaimed by Robert Bertrand the Second after his sire's decease, during which dispute the priory went to decay, and it was not until the commencement of the thirteenth century, and the rule of Prior Nicholas de Godardville, that it recovered its prosperity.²

NORMANDY.



About the year 1050, as may be gathered from the Benedictines, Duke William falling ill at Cherbourg, and despairing of his life, made a vow, that if it would please God and St. Mary to restore him to health, he would build them a church. On his recovery he accordingly raised two churches, one within and one without the castle, in which he placed certain canons; and dedicating the same to St. Mary of the Vow (de Voto, or de Vœu), endowed it with a quadru-

¹ Seguin: Hist. Archeolog. des Bocains, p. 189.

² The previous archives, say the authors of "Gallia Christiana," p. 850, are lost.

gate of land in Jersey. Robert Bertrand and Hugh de Montfort the Second¹ both witnessed the foundation charter, in which the duke terms himself, "William the Sinner; by the grace of God, duke of the Normans."²

To the defeat of the conspirators at Val des Dunes, fresh commotions and revolts succeeded. But William was a boy no longer. To every attempt of his ambitious nobles to invalidate his title, or of his jealous neighbours to ravage his provinces, he opposed himself with equal courage and success. In two desperate battles, the one of Mortemer in 1054, and the other of Varaville in 1060, he overthrew the potent counts who afresh conspired against his independence, carried ravage and alarm into their own borders, and driving into exile the more turbulent insurgents, secured at length, by a well-directed system of judicial rigour, the tranquillity of his domains. In both these battles it is natural to suppose that the duke's cause was strengthened, and his rights enforced, by the sword of Robert Bertrand; as the chronicle of Wace expressly assures us that he summoned to his standard,

With the knights of the Bessin,
The barons of the Cotentin,—
Those who make their pleasant wonne
In the Vale of Mortain, on
To Avranches' farther bay—
Raoul Tasson of Cinglais,
All of Auge's knights of fame,
And the chivalry of Exmes.³

It was not, however, with political adversaries only that the Duke of Normandy found himself embroiled. His mar-

¹ Arms, bendy *or* and *azure*.

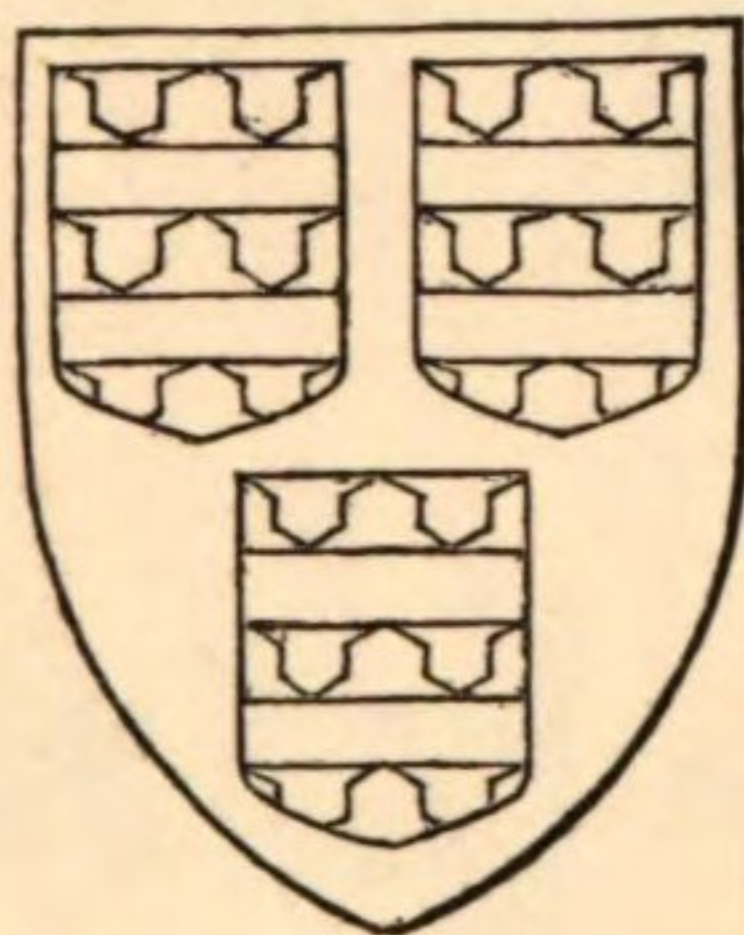
² Gallia Christiana, p. 840; and Inst. p. 229.

³ Roman de Rou, ii. p. 74.

A.D. 1066. riage with the Countess Matilda of Flanders, as it was within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, exposed him to the clamours, and even the excommunication of the churchmen; to silence which he sent an embassy to Rome in 1059. Considerations of state policy, which in this instance were also based on the desire of continuing peace between Normandy and Flanders, induced "the Apostle," as Wace, with great simplicity, terms Pope Nicholas the Second, to grant a dispensation, which permitted their continuance together; but, as the price of pardon, they were condemned to found two abbeys for the good of holy church, to which expiation the duke appears to have voluntarily added the promise of a hundred prebends.¹

With such industry did the noble pair apply themselves to the fulfilment of the task, that in 1066 the abbey of St. Trinity was completed, and its church was dedicated on the 18th of June of the same year. Robert Bertram and Hugh II. de Montfort both affixed their crosses as witnesses to the munificent foundation charter which the countess executed that same day, and the former presented to the abbey two free-men and his tithe at Columbelles,² whilst his sister Emma, countess of Montchenseye, with his assent, for her own soul, relinquished all that she possessed in the

MONTCHENSEYE.



¹ The duke for peace, that God might give true pardon for his sin,
And that the Apostle might consent he should keep his near of kin,
A hundred prebends raised, to feed and robe a hundred poor,
The blind and weak to entertain, the maimed and sick to cure:
At Cherbourg and Bayeux, at Caen, and Rouen's hallowed hill,—
There are they to this hour—as then they stood, exist they still;
And next two abbeys they at Caen most richly did endow,
For the dark-veiled sisters one, and one where the hooded brothers bow.

WACE, vol. ii. p. 60.

² Cartulary of St. Trinity, p. 6 b.

same hamlet.¹ The first devotees who took the veil there, were daughters, wives, or sisters of the most distinguished Norman nobles. The duke, upon his part, presented Cecilia, his infant daughter, at the altar of the monastery, in which she afterwards became the second abbess. Amongst the other distinguished ladies who followed in this dedication of their age or beauty to the cloister, Adelais Turstain has already been noticed. She gave, by consent of Duke William, Ranulph vicomte of St. Sauveur, and her brother Eudo, her own moiety of the vill, the church, and tithe of Carpiquet, the other moiety having been already purchased of her brother and presented by the Countess Matilda. She farther bestowed two parts of the vill called Puteus, twenty acres between Fouquerolles and Hervestville; half a mill and a carucate in Coisnières;² the same quantity of land in Rusca-ville and in Calvaville; Fraxinville and Maisnil-Urcelai; the land held of her by Oismeline, the son of Theodoric, and

A.D. 1066,
June 14.

¹ Dedit etiā Emma, Comitisse de Monschans, Sce. Trinitati q'q'd habebat in eadē villā (de Colūbellis) p. salutē aīe sue, ipso Robto Bertnno, *fratre suo*, annuente.—*Cartulary of St. Trinity*, p. 6 b.

It was, in all probability, Rabel de Montchenseye who married Emma Bertrand; in which case it would be their son, Hubert, who was at the conquest of England, and had considerable possessions bestowed on him in Suffolk; vide "Domesday Book," ii. 436. In 1119, Hubert, son of Rabel de Montchenseye, gave by his charter, towards the foundation of the abbey of Troarn, the church of Montchenseye, and consented to hold his fee of St. Martin and the abbot; in token of which the latter gave him three sextaries of wheat, which, with the entire fee, he was to relinquish to them if he should ever take the cowl amongst them, or be buried in the abbey cemetery. Which grant was signed, amongst other witnesses, by his kinsman, Robert Bertram II.—*Cartulary of Troarn*, anno 1119.

² Whence the family of CONYERS. I have in my possession a fine seal, in green wax, of Roger de Conyers, of the time of King Stephen, with the device of a *manche*, in bold relief, surrounded by seven cross-crosslets, the hand holding a spear-head or fleur-de-lys; around which is the legend, + SIGILLUM : ROGERI : DE : CONNERIS.

A.D. 1066. Herbert Folenfant, in Gouberville, Dainouville, and Couverville, and that by Anschetil in Ingouville.¹ The same ancient record commemorates the liberality of her cousin Gisela, the daughter of Turstain de Bastembourg, who devoted to the service of the abbey, for her own soul, all the land that she possessed in Gray and Dumville, by permission of her nephew, Hugh Turstain, lord of Montfort, of whose fee it was.²

2. HUGH BERTRAND, LORD OF LE ROZEL.

It was about this same period that the Du Rozel surname had its origin: and it occurs for the first time in the same monastic charter of the Countess Matilda, executed July 14, 1066, which commemorates the donations of Robert Bertrand and his sister Emma. "The countess," says this record, "for twenty pounds and one golden mark, also bought of Waleran, son of Ralph the Moneychanger, and presented to the abbey of St. Trinity, thirty-one acres of land in Amanville, and a carucate at Caen, together with a mill, and the land held in fee by his brother Conan, the duke consenting to the gifts: and HUGH DU ROZEL, Ralph Fitz-Otver, and Gerald the Steward, were witnesses to the purchase."³ Now, if it be admitted that the castle of Le Rozel was the appanage of a younger branch of the Bertrands, (and the representation of M. Seguin, drawn from authentic, although unremembered records, is in perfect unison with all the evidence that can be brought to bear upon the subject, in the absence of the fief-book of the barony,) it will necessarily follow, that Hugh

¹ Neustria Pia, p. 659.

² Id. p. 660.

³ Gallia Christiana; *Instrumenta*, p. 60.

du Rozel had a common parent with Robert Bertrand, in the A.D. 1066. person of William, baron of Briquebec. And from the circumstance of his name being associated in the above transaction with that of the steward of the countess, it is not unlikely that he held some station in her household equally honourable with that of occasional cup-bearer to the king, which he sustained after the Conquest, in England. Under the style of Hugh de Barneville, he witnessed, about the year 1070, a charter of Matthew de Praëriis and Ralph his son, conceding certain lands in Guernsey to the abbey of Troarn.¹

HUGH I. DU ROZEL.



Hugh du Rozel may have been born about the year 1021, and have been invested with the castles of Barneville and Le Rozel towards 1045, when fully capable of defending them with sword and shield; or otherwise, upon his marriage, or the death of the Baron of Briquebec. But, besides these fiefs, he had possessions in the isle of Guernsey as well as in Jersey, where a hamlet bearing his surname still exists. A third domain belonged to him in the neighbourhood of Caen, which took also the name of Rosel; and he enjoyed, of the favour of Duke William, other beneficiary lands at Grainville and Grouchy, in the same vicinity. To the completion of the abbey of St. Stephen, Hugh du Rozel appears to have reserved any grant which he might contemplate when the idea crossed his mind, as it may even then sometimes have done, of the peace to be secured in a monastic cell. Meanwhile, the great enterprise upon which the Duke of Normandy had now resolved, presented a temptation to his arms which, though neither greedy nor necessitous, he was probably, from his love of adventure,

¹ Cartulary of Troarn, p. 636, in Bur. of Prefect. at Caen.

A.D. 1066. little able to resist; so that gathering together, at the time of embarkation, in September, and ranging under his four sons, Roger, Hugh, Theobald, and Richard, his faithful vassals and retainers, he sailed with his prince and fellow-barons to Pevensey, and pitched his tent upon the celebrated field, whereon a quarrel that involved such momentous consequences to posterity was soon to be decided.¹

¹ William Bertrand, the third son of the Baron of Briquebec, was also present at the battle of Hastings.



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